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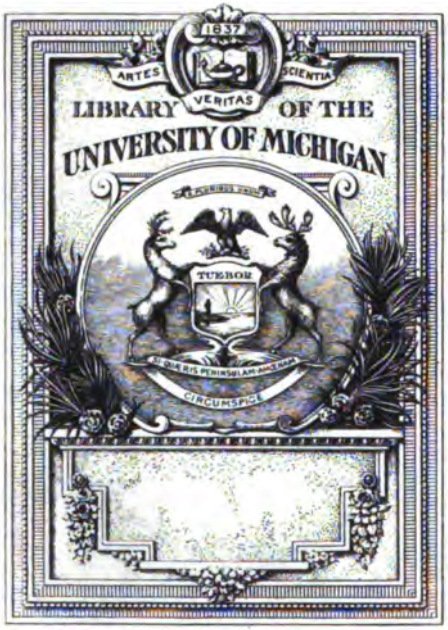
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With every good wish for Christmas
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Venice. Dec. 25. 1901.

TWO DOGES OF VENICE.

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6.

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ARMS OF THE MOCENIGO FAMILY.

TWO DOGES OF VENICE

BEING A SLIGHT SKETCH OF THE LIVES

AND TIMES OF

TOMASO MOCENIGO AND FRANCESCO

FOSCARI

BY

ALETHEA WIEL

AUTHOR OF "VITTORIA COLONNA, A STUDY"

LONDON

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS

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MDCCCXCI

TO

MY SISTER,

CONSTANCE VESEY.

5 31-1
1561

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PREFACE.

TO write a minute history of Venice during the reigns of Tomaso Mocenigo, and Francesco Foscari would be a work at once beyond my powers and my intention. I have endeavoured simply to give the reader some idea of the state of Venice at that epoch, and to point to the chief events and the actors who took part in them during that period. I have dwelt but slightly on the opposite policies of these two Doges, for the question is one of such importance and moment that it could not meet with all the consideration it requires in a work of such slight proportions as the following. In the sketch of Doge Foscari's life I have tried however, to give a somewhat truer view of those family misfortunes which blighted that Doge's life, and which have given to his history the tragic element by which it has become familiar to us ; and have also endeavoured in relating those misfortunes to give a clearer view of the story in all its interest and sadness than the one which novelists and poets have made known to us.

The scantiness of record as to personal deeds and thoughts in the history of these Doges of Venice has now and again prompted me to bring forward trivialities and details relating to them of small or of no importance from a historical point of view, but it is done in the hopes of giving prominence to lives and characters

whose individualities were otherwise sunk, and whose identities were almost lost sight of, in the contemplation of the history of their great Republic; that Republic to which, from the proud position of rulers and governors, they eventually became mere figure-heads and ornamental representatives.

The sources from which I have gathered most of my material in the following pages are: Sanudo; Vite dei Duchi di Venezia. Romanin; Storia Documentata di Venezia. Litta; Famiglie Celebri. Berlan: I due Foscari, etc.

I must also acknowledge with most grateful thanks the help and kindness I have received from Com. Barozzi; Com. Stefani (from whom I have also received a large amount of most useful information); Cav. Carlo Castellani; Count Camillo Soranzo; and Abate Niccoletti of the Correr Museum.

TWO DOGES OF VENICE;

BEING A SKETCH OF THEIR LIVES AND TIMES.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

OF the seven Doges sprung from the family of Mocenigo, and who in turn ruled over the destinies of Venice, the first and greatest of them was Tomaso Mocenigo. He was called to the dukedom in 1414, on the death of his predecessor, Michele Steno, whose reign extended over a period of thirteen years (1400-1413), during which time the towns of Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Feltre, and Cividale di Belluno came under the Venetian dominion. Steno was evidently a man of determined nature, and though his epitaph speaks of him as having been: "amator justitie, pacis, et ubertatis" (a lover of justice, peace, and plenty), we see in him a character not easily daunted, and one who held his own opinion in the teeth of all opposition. Romanin[1] gives us an example of the way in which, in the year 1410, he asserted himself against his whole Council, and how he succeeded in gaining his point. It was done, however, at a great

[1] Storia Documentata di Venezia, di S. Romanin, tomo iv., cap. ii., p. 64.

cost, and ended by the loss of much of his own power as well as that of succeeding Doges; for new laws and regulations were now passed to limit and circumscribe the prerogative of the so-called rulers of Venice, and to deprive them by degrees of an authority and power which they were to represent but not to exercise. Commands of a more stringent nature than those formerly laid on him were now passed in regard of the Doge. He was ordered, together with his Councillors, to hold public audiences every day of the year, festival days alone excepted; every month he was to summon the Justices of the Palace, and admonish them as to the administration of equity; he was forbidden to assemble the Councils without having first obtained the approval of his Councillors; and except in the ducal palace itself he was not allowed to have his arms painted or displayed in any fashion. And in order to reduce still more his power, and eventually that of the people also, a decree was passed which prevented the Doge from convoking the "Arrengo" or public harangue, unless he had first gained the consent of the majority of members belonging to the Councils. We shall see how at the time of Foscari's election (1423) this law was the means of preventing the people from having a voice in the selection of their Doge, and how it confirmed a new privilege to the aristocratic party and strengthened to them another of those prerogatives for the which they were always striving with unwearied energy and determination.

It was when the power of her leaders had been circumscribed in such a way that Venice made choice of Tomaso Mocenigo to fill the ducal throne.

To the family of Mocenigo different origins have been assigned, according to the fantasy and ingenuity of its chroniclers. Some assert the family to be descended from the Carlovingian kings; others declare them sprung from Roman ancestors; others

again speak of a humbler pedigree, while the generally accepted idea is that they came from Milan. The date fixed for their settling in Venice was soon after the year 1000, and for this cause they were not reckoned among the old nobility or ancient houses ("case vecchie"), who only ranked among their members those who took part in the foundation of the seat of government, when, in the eighth century, it was established at the Rialto. But if the Mocenigo did not count among the earliest of the principal families of Venice they were in no way behind the chiefest and the best in all that constitutes real greatness and nobility. From a very early date we find them acting as senators of state; they took their seat with the Patricians at the closing of the Council (Serrata del Consiglio) in 1297, and they counted at different times among the members of their family, warriors, statesmen, men of renown, of letters, and of learning. A Venetian proverb says: "Nè Balbi ricchi, nè Mozenighi povari," and a proof of the wealth of the Mocenigo is evident when we read of them as being in turn protectors of the arts and of letters, as well as founders of churches, palaces, galleries, museums, and libraries. In the most flourishing days of the Republic no less than twenty of the great houses of Venice were owned by this family; in the seventeenth century fourteen branches of the Mocenigo house became extinct, and to-day two branches only remain as representatives of this illustrious name.

Tomaso Mocenigo was born in 1343; his father's name was Piero, while no mention whatever is made of his mother. He took part in the defeat of his country's navy by the Genoese at Pola, in May, 1379,[1] when he acted under Vittor Pisani and was

[1] Romanin speaks of this defeat as taking place on the 7th May, while Sismondi gives the date of May 27th, and Sanudo, the 29th of May. The Genoese fleet were commanded by Lusciano and Pietro Doria. Rom., *op. cit.*, t. iii., cap. iv., p. 266. Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. iv., ch. ii., p. 60.

in command of the galleys. The Venetian fleet was far inferior in force and numbers to those of the enemy, and Pisani yielded against his better judgment to the entreaties of his officers and men to engage with the Genoese forces. The result was the complete overthrow of the Venetians and the destruction for the time being of their fleet; and Tomaso was despatched to Venice to announce the calamity to the Senate.[1] Two years later he accompanied Carlo Zeno in his expedition to the coast of Liguria, and in 1395 he went to take possession in the name of the Republic of the Polesine di Rovigo, which the Marquis of Ferrara had made over to Venice. In this same year, 1395, he was again employed on active service on behalf of his country's interests in the East, where the state of affairs was of a nature to claim the attention and intervention of the Western powers.

Bajazet I. had succeeded his father, Amurath I., in 1389, and had asserted his dominion with such supremacy and vigour against Emanuele Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, that this latter in his distress appealed for help and protection to Christianity at large. The Pope preached a crusade in aid of the Emperor, and a league was entered into by the Pope, the King of Hungary, the states of Venice, Florence, and Genoa, and others to succour the oppressed monarch. The Venetians sent a fleet under the command of Tomaso Mocenigo, and it was on board his ship that Sigismond, King of Hungary, took refuge after the defeat of the allies at Nicopoli on the 28th

Sanudo, Vite dei Duchi di Venezia. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, t. xxii., p. 683.

[1] So say Sanudo and Litta. Romanin does not speak of his being present at the battle of Pola; on the contrary, he relates how his vessel was captured when returning from the East, laden with merchandise, and how this misfortune increased the terror and dismay which already reigned in Venice.

September, 1396. To reward the Venetian admiral for the opportune help he had given him, Sigismond presented large gifts of money to Mocenigo, which were passed on by him to the State treasury; there being a strict law in Venice which forbade anyone in the employ of the state from accepting gifts or rewards from any foreign potentate. Mocenigo returned soon after to Venice, where he was received with rejoicing and honour. We find him among the electors who chose Michele Steno to the dukedom in 1400, when he was also one of the five Savii or Councillors[1] who revised the "promissione" of the new Doge.[2] In 1405 he was appointed governor of Padua, in the room of Carlo Zeno, who had been accused of sharing in the conspiracy of the Carraresi against Venice; and Mocenigo remained as Vice-Podestà of the town till the 24th of January, 1406, when he was elected to the procuratorship of S. Mark. Soon after he was sent to Genoa to claim from its inhabitants the payment of a sum of money owed by them to Venice. This mission did not meet with entire success. But still less successful was the embassy in which Mocenigo, in company with Antonio Contarini, was engaged in 1411 to the King of Hungary, when this monarch treated the Venetian representatives with such scorn and contempt that war was the result. This war continued two years, and Mocenigo was the chief means of concluding a peace between Venice and Hungary that lasted for five years. Directly after this he was sent to Lodi to negotiate between the Pope John XXIII. and Sigismond, now Emperor of Germany. Antonio Contarini and Francesco Foscari were associated with

[1] The others were: Luigi Loredano (Procurator), Pietro Emo, Benedetto Soranzo, and Carlo Zeno.

[2] The "Promissione Ducale" was a series of agreements to which each Doge subscribed in turn. It was drawn up afresh at the death of every Doge, when all items superfluous or needless for the new reign were expunged.

him on this occasion, and while they were discussing the conditions for peace, Doge Steno died on the 26th of December, 1413.

Tomaso Mocenigo was elected to the dukedom on the 7th January of the following year, and a courier was despatched to the three orators (for such was their title equally with that of ambassador) to announce the news to them. They were then at Cremona, and we can imagine the excitement that would arise in their minds when the messenger confided in secret to them: "One of you three has been made Doge" ("Uno di voi tre è stato fatto doge"). The letters from the Signory were then read, with what impatience we can well fancy, and the secret faithfully kept, Mocenigo only starting instantly for Venice, the others remaining at Cremona. The new Doge was met at Verona by some members of the Council sent to greet him, and at Marghera, the "Bucentaur" came to take him on board and convey him to Venice, where he arrived on the 27th of January. The ceremony of handing over to the Doge, the Gonfalon or standard of the Republic, must have been an impressive one. It took place in the Church of St. Mark, when the banner worked in gold was placed within his hands, the Sacrament was administered to him, and he, raising both his hands, swore to respect his country's rights. From the church he went to the palace, saying as he entered it: "Pax huic domni."[1]

Florence was among the first of the states of Italy to offer congratulations to Venice on the appointment of the new Doge.

[1] Cronaca Morosini. The original of this precious codex is No. mmxlviii-mmxlix, Cl. vii. degli Italiani, but for the privilege of consulting the unique copy which exists in the Marciana Library at Venice, I am indebted to the kindness and courtesy of two of my learned friends, Commendatore Federigo Stefani, head of the state archives of Venice, and Cavaliere Carlo Castellani, Prefetto of the Marciana.

She sent a "solemn embassy" ("una solenne ambasciata") in March for this purpose, and to entreat at the same time that she might be included in the treaty lately made between Ladislaus, King of Naples, and the Venetian Republic. To this appeal Venice replied by an endeavour to arbitrate between the two States, and the first year of Mocenigo's reign was devoted to this purpose.

Before entering at once into the more weighty matters of his reign, we must turn for a moment to the rejoicings and merry-makings which took place on the appointment of Mocenigo to the dukedom. Sanudo relates how these festivities began on the 25th of April, and lasted for several days in honour of the event. He tells us how the guilds of the different trades or arts (arti), now began to give feasts, revels, and jousts or tournaments in the town, and after recounting how the barricades and scaffoldings were set up in the Square of St. Mark, he explains how ample the accommodation was for the spectators, and that the chief guests on this occasion were Nicolò d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, and Francesco Gonzaga, lord of Mantua. The Company or Guild of Goldsmiths and Jewellers were the first to hold a revelry (balordo). They were dressed in scarlet cloaks, their horses all decked with lace, and all eager for the fray. The price for hiring each horse was three ducats, and when they were mounted, the knights paraded around to the sound of trumpets, fifes, and other instruments. Two prizes were set apart for them, one for the goldsmiths of two helmets, worth 150 golden ducats, while the jewellers were to be rewarded with a collar or necklace of gold, set with pearls and precious stones, valued at 250 ducats. As these companies came on to the Piazza they were met by the Marquis of Ferrara and his mounted followers, to the number of two hundred, in all the glory of well-appointed dresses and accoutrements. Opposed to them was the Lord of Mantua with

his retainers, equally well equipped, and we have little doubt of the veracity of our old chronicler, when he dwells on the splendour and magnificence of the scene, together with the novelty presented by such a display of horses in the centre of Venice. When all had paraded round the Square, the tournament began and lasted for some hours. No jealousy can have been evoked as to the distribution of the prizes, for though we are left in ignorance as as to who was victorious, we read that one helmet was awarded to the men of Ferrara, the other to those of Mantua, so we can but hope that the satisfaction was as general as such a proof of equity would seem to demand! This entertainment was followed on Sunday, the 28th of April, by a joust, "the which was a notable thing to see" (la quale fu una notabil cosa a vedere). The same actors took part in this who had shared in the revelry, decked in every sort of splendid dress, and adorned with devices and decorations of all kinds. Owing to the proximity of Ascension Day, Venice was thronged with visitors, and it was estimated that no less than from fifty to sixty thousand people were gathered that day in the Square of St. Mark, when the prize of the necklace was carried off by one of the lord of Mantua's retainers. Other jousts and revels succeeded, till in the month of May the town quieted down once more, and the soberer affairs of life and of history reasserted their sway and claimed the interest and attention which for a while had been given to less serious pursuits.

Peace was far from being the ruling element in Italy at this moment, and no state was in a position free from disturbances of a more or less serious nature. The Council of Constance, which had been opened by John XXIII. on the 5th of November, 1414, was sitting and endeavouring to adjudge between the three Popes, John XXIII. (Cossa), Benedict XIII. (Pietro di Luna), and Gregory XII. (Correr), who each claimed for himself the right to

sit in St. Peter's chair.[1] The Republic of Genoa was disturbed by the agitation of one Doge following another in rapid succession; Bologna was making trial of different forms of government, and appealing to Venice for help both of governors and money; Ancona offered to place itself under the rule and protection of Venice, an offer, however, which the Republic thought prudent to decline; while of more importance even than these agitations among the Italian States, was the condition of affairs in the East, the "gorgeous East" in whose destiny that of Venice was so often involved, and in whose fortunes her own were so closely concerned.

To understand the turn that events had taken there, we must go back for a while and retrace the complications and irregularities which had arisen in the Turkish Empire, and which were of so involved a nature, that foreign intervention and aid had to be invoked in order to restore quiet and order. After the deaths of Tamerlane and Bajazet I. the country was distracted by divisions and wars between the sons of the latter. After alternate triumphs between the brothers, Mahomet, in 1413, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne that had been occupied in turn by his two other brothers, and in the same year Venice, thanks to the management and diplomacy of Francesco Foscari, concluded an alliance with him in which the security of the Venetians was, for the moment, firmly established. Regardless of this treaty, however, peace was not maintained, and Venice deemed it prudent to send a fleet to the East to watch more closely over the interests of her subjects, and of her commerce. This armament was under the command of Pietro Loredano,

[1] Gregory was a Venetian, Angelo Correr. He renounced his claims to the Papacy in July, 1415, when he resumed his old name and title of Cardinal and Bishop of Porto, and retired to Recanati, where he died on the 18th of October, 1417, at the age of ninety years.

while the officers serving under him were his own brother Giorgio Loredano, Jacopo Barbarigo, Cristoforo Dandolo, and Piero Contarini. The Venetians were at first disposed to adopt peaceable measures, and to conciliate, as far as might be, the Turkish powers, but this proving impossible, and their overtures of peace being answered with replies that left no alternative save that of war, they prepared for action, and on the 29th of May, 1416, the battle of Gallipoli was fought. The fight began at sunrise and lasted till after two o'clock in the afternoon, and a long and minute account of it is to be found in Sanudo from the pen of Loredano himself, who describes the whole of the fight in a letter to the Doge and the Signory, written from Tenedos and bearing date June 2nd, 1416. The victory remained with the Venetians, and was of so brilliant and so important a nature that the Government thought fit to announce it to all the Christian rulers and potentates. A solemn procession was held in honour of the event on Sunday, 5th of July, when all the clergy, prelates and bishops, bearing relics, paraded through St. Mark's Square to the Church itself, where a "devout mass with devout lauds" was sung. The Doge, all the members of the Councils, and all the chief nobles of Venice took part in the procession and in the public service of thanksgiving offered to God for the triumph vouchsafed to them. The importance of this victory was indeed great for Venice. Not only was the glory of such a day sufficient to uphold her supremacy and magnify her power among the nations, but the moral influence of such a victory was of still greater weight, in that it secured to her a prestige which lasted for years, while it guaranteed at the same time both to her colonies and to her commerce such peace and security as to establish their prosperity for many a day in undisturbed supremacy.

Besides the league entered into with Mahomet, Venice was

not neglectful to secure her own position and well-being in regard of the countries more immediately around her, and we trace the influence that Mocenigo brought to bear in the policy of his country when we read of treaties of peace signed between the Republic and the States all around her. The aim of the Venetian tactics during the whole of Mocenigo's reign was, as is well known, eminently peaceful, and of a nature to reflect the greatest glory on the name and memory of her leader; but while all the facts relating to this reign must be taken into consideration, we cannot draw a veil over one which is unworthy of a great nation governed by great men. I allude to the design made in July of the year 1415 to poison the Emperor Sigismund. Though Sigismund had constantly shown himself an implacable foe to Venice, and had repeatedly refused all efforts made by the Republic to preserve the peace for which she strove with such steadfastness, the means suggested to take his life in such a manner were base and dishonourable. While condemning the nation, we must, on the other hand, make allowance for the age of which we are treating, when considerations for an adversary's life would not be so closely weighed as in more modern times; and remember, too, that dealings which would now be reckoned dishonourable were at that period countenanced as legitimate. That such a plan was actually under discussion is clearly proved,[1] but the fact that so dark a purpose was not put into execution is equally certain, and Venice may be fully acquitted from the perpetration of a deed which could not but have cast a lasting reproach on her government and on her rulers.

It was at this time that the territory of Roveredo came into the possession of Venice, a possession which was to bring with it perpetual broils and complications between the Republic and the dukes of Austria.

[1] See the deliberations for 3 July, 1415, Cons. X., No. 9, p. 136.

The diplomacy of Mocenigo, which was ever tending towards all that could bring peace and prosperity to Venice, was manifest at this period by a scheme which he had conceived of a league offensive and defensive throughout the whole of Italy. The project was a noble one, and shows Mocenigo to have been possessed of a wisdom and foresight far in advance of his age, but it met with no support from the neighbouring states, and Venice had to be content with a treaty signed between herself and Filippo Visconti, lord of Milan, by which she endeavoured to curb the ambition of this latter, and prevent Filippo from joining the German emperor, and throwing the weight of his arms and forces into the Imperial cause.

In November of the year 1417 an important event for Christendom took place at the Council of Constance, when the schisms which for thirty-eight years had divided the Church were brought to a close by the election of Oddo Colonna to the Papal dignity. He became Pope under the name of Martin V., and in the month of December, Venice sent four delegates[1] to Rome to congratulate the Pope on his election. Shortly after, the Pope despatched an envoy to Venice, who was received with all honour, and who offered in the Pope's name to effect a reconciliation between Sigismund and the Republic, but all efforts failed to induce the Emperor to accept any terms, and the following year (1418) war broke out. The province of Friuli was the scene of hostilities, where the inhabitants were divided into two factions, the one in favour of the Hungarian or Imperial cause, headed by the Patriarch Louis of Tech; and the other for the Venetians under the leadership of Tristano Savorgnano. These latter were reinforced by troops from Venice, commanded by Pandolfo Malatesta as Captain-General,

[1] They were Marino Caravello, Antonio Contarini, Francesco Foscari, and Fantino Michiel.

and with him were associated Dolfin Veniero, Luigi Buzzacarino, Filippo di Arcelli, and Simon da Canossa. The arms of the Republic were victorious in all directions, and the result of this war was the acquisition of the whole of Friuli. She lost, however, one of her best generals, Filippo di Arcelli, who died from wounds received in different engagements, and who was succeeded in his command by Taddeo d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara.

The conquest of Friuli was an event of the highest importance to Venice, and a gain most advantageous both to her position and to her commerce, since this province was then considered as the harbour and port of all Italy, and its possession meant nothing less than the dominion of the Adriatic to the fortunate owner. In this way Venice was secured against all invasion or danger on the sea-side; while on the mainland her territories were extending, though not, as yet, in such a way as to weaken her central forces. To the west, Padua, Vicenza and Verona, owned her sway; while eastward she ruled over Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Cadore and Istria. While engaged in fighting in Friuli the Venetian armies were too close to Dalmatia not to profit by such an occasion, and here again they were all victorious. The Emperor Sigismund was too engrossed in his endeavours to keep the Turk out of his kingdom of Hungary, and to suppress at the same time the Hussites in Bohemia, to be able to keep in check the Venetian forces, who, under the command of Pietro Loredano, conquered in turn the cities of Almizza, Brazza, Lesina, Curzola, Cattaro, Spoleto, Budna and Traù, which latter offered a valiant resistance, and was not taken till the 27th of June, 1420. In Albania, the towns of Scutari, Drivasto, Antivari, Dulcigno and Alessio submitted to the Republic, while in Greece the town of Corinth, the key to all the Morea, fell into her power.

We read of a visit being made to Venice on Palm Sunday, the 20th of March, 1418, by the Bishop of Winchester, uncle of our King Henry V., accompanied by the Prior of "St. Mary of England" (Santa Maria d'Inghilterra). He was received and entertained with much honour, the Doge going in person in the "Bucentaur" to meet him. He was on his way to the Holy Land, and we can but regret that no details are given of his stay in a city where, if we mistake not, he must have met with no little difficulty in finding accommodation for the sixty horses which we are told he brought with him. He was evidently satisfied with his reception, for he revisited Venice in September of this same year (1418), on his return to England from the Holy Land, when he was again received and entertained with honour (E fu molto onorato, e si partì per Inghilterra).

The Doge's duties were such as to require his presence on occasions of all and every sort; besides assisting at the reception of distinguished guests, he had also to take a share in more solemn ceremonies, and in May of this same year he was present at the funeral of Carlo Zeno, one of the greatest "among the great of Venice," who died on the 8th of May, at the age of eighty years.

CHAPTER II.

HILE the affairs related in the last chapter had been passing in Friuli, and the attention of Venice concentrated in that direction, the Duke of Milan judged the moment a fitting one in which to further his own projects in Lombardy, and profit by so favourable an opportunity as that now offered him for advancing his troops without fear of interruption from a watchful adversary.

Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, was one of the most indomitable foes the Republic ever had, and as the part he played in the reigns both of Mocenigo and of Foscari was great, it may not be out of place to give here a slight sketch of his character and disposition. He was the last of the Visconti, and, in 1412, had succeeded his brother, Gian Maria. On the occasion of this latter's murder, Filippo had shown a vigour and an activity wholly unexpected. He first gained over to his side the guard at Pavia, where he was in custody; he then conciliated the partisans of Facino Cane; and to strengthen his cause still more firmly he married Beatrice di Tenda, the widow of this general, in spite of her being forty years of age, while he himself was hardly twenty. She brought him, however, the sovereignty of Tortona, Novara, Vercello and Alessandria, as well as the

command of a large and well-disciplined army.[1] Several of the traits of his father, Gian Galeaz Visconti, were to be found in Filippo, though in a lessened degree. He had the same timid ambition which made him constantly desirous of fresh conquests, while he lacked the courage to lead his own army, or even face his own soldiers. He employed the same perfidious policy, the same devious line of action by which to deceive friends and foes alike, the same art of always having a different aim in view to the one for which he seemed to be making, while he had, too, the same mixture of generosity all unlooked-for in a low and cruel character. But at the same time he had less strength of will, less power of carrying out his schemes, or of selecting his opportunities, less knowledge of administration, less talent for surprising his people, or for making himself beloved by them, than his father Gian Galeaz had had. His cowardice and suspiciousness were extreme, while his love of intrigue led him to spin one plot after another till the web of entanglement had destroyed every clue in a labyrinth of craft and cunning. But with all this he could be faithful in his friendships, he knew how to choose his servitors, and in spite of his own want of faith, and disregard of his given word and promise, he was never deceived by those whom he had selected to serve him, nor betrayed either by his ministers or his generals.[2]

The attention of Venice having been for the moment engrossed by the war in Friuli, Filippo was enabled to profit by so favourable an opportunity, and pursue his own advantages in Lombardy. Of this opportunity he was not slow to avail himself. His first step was to secure the town of Piacenza, the

[1] For his base conduct to Beatrice di Tenda see Sismondi, Rép. It., tom. iv., ch. xiv., p. 366.

[2] The foregoing sketch is taken from Sismondi, Rép. It., much of it being an almost literal translation, and from H. F. Brown's Venetian Studies.

lord of which, Arcelli, had died while in command of a division of the Venetian forces in Friuli; his next action was of more importance still, and was nothing less than the conquest of Genoa, which, on the 2nd of November, 1421, fell under the Milanese dominion. The man to whom Filippo owed his success in this and in so many of his warlike enterprises was Francesco Bussone, better known to fame as Carmagnola. He ranked high at this time in the Duke's eyes, both as confidential adviser and as general, and in the following pages we shall see how important a part he was afterwards to play in Venetian history.

In February, 1422,[1] a treaty was concluded between Filippo and the Republic of Venice, which left the Venetians at liberty to direct their forces against Gian Abrogio Spinola, a Genoese pirate who was then oppressing and pillaging the Venetian merchants with unbounded success. Jacopo Trevisano was entrusted to undertake the suppression of this sea-robber, and sailed from Venice with eighteen galleys to put down this marauder. He invested the town of Gaeta, where Spinola had retired, and demanded that the corsair should be handed over to him. This latter, however, was determined to sell his life dearly, and a desperate fight ensued. Spinola was killed in the action, and the victory ultimately remained with the Venetians, who had to content themselves with this alone, for the Genoese burnt their ships, and no spoil of any sort fell into the victors' hands.

The minuteness with which Sanudo enters into every detail, no matter whether it bears on the events of real historical interest or not, has in itself a charm and quaintness which tempt me to follow, however humbly, in his steps. For instance, in the midst of relating how Venice had conquered successfully one town after another in Albania, he breaks away from these

[1] Sanudo says on the 24th, Romanin on the 21st of February.

victories to say how the town of Scutari sent two ambassadors to Venice to treat for peace, and who brought as gifts to the Signory five falcons and five goshawks. Among the latter was a white one, "a beauty in sooth to look upon, as well as a most rare thing."[1] Did the soul of the old chronicler soar above the narrow streets and beyond the dark canals of the water city to green fields and open glades, and in fancy pursue with eagle eye the daring flight of that bird, whose beauty seems to have stirred in his spirit the ardour and sympathy of a hunter? Who can say? We almost think it may have been so when we seem to read between the lines and fancy we trace his regret at the departure of this rare and precious bird. For he tells us all the birds were disposed of as presents: two falcons and two goshawks (among them the white beauty) to the Duke of Milan; two of each sort to the Marquis of Ferrara; the same number to the Marquis of Gonzaga; and one falcon and one goshawk to Polenta, lord of Ravenna; while in exchange for the birds themselves, Venice sent offerings of cloth of gold, and rich stuffs of other sorts, and what was, perhaps, of more importance still, she consented to the terms of peace, and concluded a treaty with the town of Scutari.

But to return to more serious matters. The object of Doge Mocenigo's whole reign had been to strengthen his country's position by an adherence to peace, as far as possible in all quarters, but more especially in Italy itself. One of the most important features of his reign had been his steady refusal to agree to the entreaties of the Florentine Government to join with them in a league against the Duke of Milan. The speech he made on this occasion is worthy of record, not only as being characteristic of the man and of the times, but from its historic value as well. Mocenigo had opposed to him a strong party

[1] "Ch' è bellissimo a vedere. ed è cosa rera."

headed by Francesco Foscari, whose influence was great, and whose counsel for war had been determined and eloquent. That the Doge was able to carry his audience with him and gain a majority over Foscari and his followers in favour of peace shows how firm a hold he had over the minds and judgments of his hearers.

In his speech he says: "Our youthful Procurator, Ser Francesco Foscari, member of the Council, has laid before you in public harangue all that the Florentine ambassadors have explained to the Council, and that which we in reply have laid before your Worships. He says it is well to succour the Florentines, because that which is their good is ours likewise, and consequently their evil is equally bad for us. In time and in place we will answer him to the purpose. Youthful Procurator: God created and made the angelic nature, which was more exalted than any other created thing, and gave to it certain restrictions by which to discern good from evil. The angels chose the evil rather than the good. God punished them and drave them from Paradise to hell, and from excellence they fell to perdition. The same may be said of the Florentines who seek after evil. Such, too, will befall us if we do according to the will of our youthful Procurator, Ser Francesco Foscari. And we exhort of you to remain at peace. Should the Duke ever wage war unjustly upon you, God is over you and sees all. He will do that which shall give us the victory. Let us live in peace, and he who wishes for war, let him go to perdition.

"Youthful Procurator: God created Adam wise, good, and perfect, and gave him the earthly paradise, where was Peace, with two of his commandments which said: Enjoy the peace of all that which is in Paradise, but eat not of such a tree. And he was disobedient, and sinned from pride, not willing to acknowledge that he was but a creature. Then God despoiled

him and drave him forth from Paradise where was peace, and placed him amid war, that is, in this world, and passed condemnation on him together with all humanity. And one brother slew another, and all went from bad to worse. And such will befall the Florentines for indulging in war. And such will befall us if we do according to the will of our youthful Procurator.

"Youthful Procurator: After the sin of Cain, when the world by evil knew not God to do His will, He punished them by the flood, with the exception of Noah, whom God willed should be saved. Such will befall the Florentines for following their own wishes. God will destroy their lands and their goods; they will take refuge in this land . . . . and such will befall us if we do according to the will of our youthful Procurator, we shall be scattered abroad and dwell in foreign lands. Youthful Procurator: Noah was a saint chosen of God, but Ham departed from God and slew Japheth, for which God punished him. From his seed sprang the giants, who tyrannized over all, doing ever what they wished, without fear of God. From one tongue God made sixty-six, and finally destroyed one with another, till the race of giants was exterminated. Such will befall the Florentines if they will follow their own will without fearing God; from their tongue shall spring sixty-six, and day by day shall they migrate to France, to Germany, to Languedoc, to Catalonia, to Hungary, and to divers parts of Italy, till they be so utterly dispersed that Florence shall no more be spoken of. So, too, shall be said of us if we do according to the will of our youthful Procurator. Fear God, however, and hope in Him."

He then goes on to bring forward more scriptural examples to prove the advantage of peace as opposed to war, prefacing most of his remarks with "Youthful Procurator" (Giovane Procuratore), as he always calls Francesco Foscari, in a way that must have been somewhat irritating to his listeners, and

especially so to the person chiefly addressed, whose eagerness for war was well known. Foscari must have chafed, too, at the Doge's arguments for peace, and also at the constant refrain of "Such will happen to us if we do according to the will of our youthful Procurator" (Così interverrà a noi se faremo a modo del nostro Procuratore Giovane), and he probably felt no slight indignation when on one occasion he was told to hold his tongue on matters of which he, as it were, knew nothing: "Therefore Ser Francesco Foscari, our young Procurator, never speak in public in the way you have done without first having good information and good experience."

Mocenigo then adduces more practical reasons, and points out how far Florence and her ports are from Venice, whereas the Duke of Milan was but a day's march distant from the Venetian confines on the Veronese side, and that it were more diplomatic to remain on a friendly footing with the Duke, and with his new subjects the Genoese, than with neighbours so remote as the Florentines. He also laid before the Council a regular budget as to the different sources of revenue, and all the income of the country, and enlarged on the flourishing condition of the exchequer, giving beside a minute and elaborate account as to the manner in which the wealth of Venice had accrued; her traffic with the different towns of Italy and the East, together with the goods and wares given and received; and he concludes this long address with a fresh injunction to abstain from hurtful advice and to adhere to what would really be for the good of the State. The advice of the Doge prevailed in refusing to associate with the Florentines, and their ambassadors left Venice without having attained their object.

The memory of Tomaso Mocenigo must remain for ever associated in our minds with the part he played in the rebuilding of much of the ducal palace. The condition of the palace at

that date was widely different to the gorgeous pile of buildings with which we are now accustomed to associate the name of "Doge's Palace." The Hall of the Great Council (Sala di Maggior Consiglio) was then on the verge of completion; and by its splendour and novelty it cast into shade the older buildings which surrounded it, and which were falling into ruin and decay. The contrast was the more conspicuous from the new edifice, now erected, and resplendent by the side of the existing ruins, and must have forced upon every observant mind the need of restoration, if not of reconstruction. A law was, however, extant which forbade anyone even to suggest in public the idea of rebuilding or of making any alteration in the Doge's Palace, under a penalty of a thousand ducats. This law had been passed in the preceding century, at a moment when the Republic had been engaged in war with the Genoese, and when the whole of her political horizon was overcast in a way to preclude any thought of expenditure on what, for the time being, would be deemed unnecessary or extravagant. Speaking of this decree Ruskin says:[1] "The Senate, fearful of itself, and desirous to guard against the weakness of its own enthusiasm, passed a decree, like the effort of a man fearful of some strong temptation to keep his thoughts averted from the point of danger. . . . The decree, thus passed in order to guard against their own weakness, forbade anyone to speak of rebuilding the old palace, under the penalty of a thousand ducats. But they had rated their own enthusiasm too low: there was a man among them whom the loss of a thousand ducats could not deter from proposing what he believed to be for the good of the State." This man was Tomaso Mocenigo, who, on the 27th of September, 1422, appeared before the Senate with the fine of the thousand ducats in his hand, and having in this way secured to himself the right

[1] Stones of Venice, vol. i., chap. v., The Ducal Palace.

to be heard on the subject, he brought forward the proposal to rebuild the Ducal Palace. A fire which had occurred in 1419 furnished the Doge with a powerful plea by which to support his argument, for the damage occasioned by this fire both to the Church of San Marco and to the Ducal Palace had been great, and had only been remedied in a slight and temporary manner. The account of how the Doge brought forward his proposal, and the way in which it was accepted, are given by Sanudo[1] in words which Ruskin has already made known to us[2]: "Therefore they set themselves with all diligence and care to repair and adorn sumptuously, first God's house: but in the Prince's house things went on more slowly, for it did not please the Doge to restore it in the form in which it was before; and they could not rebuild it altogether in a better manner, so great was the parsimony of these old fathers; because it was forbidden by laws, which condemned in a penalty of a thousand ducats anyone who should propose to throw down the old palace, and to rebuild it more richly and with greater expense. But the Doge, who was magnanimous, and who desired above all things what was honourable to the city, had the thousand ducats carried into the Senate Chamber, and then proposed that the palace should be rebuilt; saying that, 'since the late fire had ruined in great part the Ducal habitation (not only his own private palace, but all the places used for public business), this occasion was to be taken for an admonishment sent from God, that they ought to rebuild the palace more nobly, and in a way more befitting the greatness to which, by God's grace, their dominions had reached; and that his motive in proposing this was neither ambition nor

[1] Sanudo, Cod. CXXV., cl. vii., alla Marciana.

[2] I have studied this "codice" in the original, and trust the reader will be grateful to me for giving him Mr. Ruskin's translation in preference to my own.

selfish interest: that, as for ambition, they might have seen in the whole course of his life, through so many years, that he had never done anything for ambition, either in the city, or in foreign business; but in all his actions had kept justice first in his thoughts, and then the advantage of the state, and the honour of the Venetian name; and that, as far as regarded his private interest, if it had not been for this accident of the fire, he would never have thought of changing anything in the palace into either a more sumptuous or a more honourable form; and that, during the many years in which he had lived in it, he had never endeavoured to make any change, but had always been content with it as his predecessors had left it; and that he knew well that, if they took in hand to build it as he exhorted and besought them, being now very old, and broken down with many toils, God would call him to another life before the walls were raised a pace above the ground. And that therefore they might perceive that he did not advise them to raise this building for their own convenience, but only for the honour of the city and its dukedom; and that the good of it would never be felt by him, but by his successors.' Then he said, that 'in order, as he had always done, to observe the laws, . . . he had brought with him the thousand ducats which had been appointed as the penalty for proposing such a measure, so that he might prove openly to all men that it was not his own advantage that he sought, but the dignity of the state! There was no one who desired to oppose the wishes of the Doge; and the thousand ducats were unanimously devoted to the expenses of the work. And they set themselves with much diligence to the work; and the palace was begun in the form and manner in which it is at present seen; but, as Mocenigo had prophesied, not long after he ended his life, and not only did not see the work brought to a

close, but hardly even begun." Another old chronicle,[1] speaking of how Mocenigo brought forward his proposal, says: "The Doge, having more respect for the honour and dignity of the state than for his own convenience, made an address before the Council of the Pregadi, exhorting the Ducal Signory to undertake the affair, if only from the pressing need and threatened ruin of the Palace."

[1] Caroldo, Cod. CXLII., cl. vii., alla Marciana.

CHAPTER III.

E have now come to the closing scene of Doge Mocenigo's life. The sands were almost run out, and the remaining hours of a noble life were fast ebbing away. Those alterations and restorations in the Ducal Palace, for which succeeding generations must ever be grateful to Mocenigo, he did not live to see. As he had foretold his hearers in the Senate his days were numbered, and early in the following April, but little more than six months after he had carried his proposal for the rebuilding of the Palace, the end came.

Shortly before his death, feeling his last hour was near, he sent for the Senators, and availing himself of all the dignity and solemnity consequent on such a moment, he began : "Sirs, I have sent for you, since God has willed to put upon me this infirmity which will be the end of my pilgrimage." And then, in a speech which has lived in history from its foresight and vigour, he enlarged on the advantages gained by Venice in regard of trade and commerce, and bade them be honest in all their dealings. He pointed out the deficit in the state revenues owing to the wars with Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, and then dwelt on the enormous profits brought in by the Venetian trade, and the comfort and competence in which both the gentlefolk and the

lower classes were living. "Beware," he continued, "as you would of fire, of taking what belongs to others, and of undertaking unjust wars, for God will not endure such faults in princes." His anxiety as to who should be his successor was intense, and the desire to have so important a fact whispered into his dying ear has in it something most eminently pathetic and human. "In order that I may know from you who you will choose to be Doge after me, tell it me secretly into my ear, that I may advise you as to who is deserving, as also for the good of the state. Sirs, I see many of you who would choose those whom I will now name: Messer Marino Cavallo is a worthy man, and as deserving for intellect as for goodness. So also is Messer Francesco Bembo, and equally so Messer Pietro Loredano. Messer Jacopo Trevisano, Messer Antonio Contarini, Messer Faustino Michiel, and Messer Albano Badoer are all of them wise, fitting, and well-deserving. Many are inclined for Messer Francesco Foscari and know not that he is a liar and proud, and in desiring him for Doge they say things that are untrue and that have no foundation. . . . . God does not will it. If you make him Doge you will shortly be at war. He who has ten thousand ducats will then have but one thousand; who has ten houses, will then have but one; who has ten coats, will find himself with but one. And equally so in regard of other things, so that speedily you will have made away with your gold and silver, with your honour and renown. From your position of lords, you will sink to that of vassals and servants to men of arms, to foot soldiers, to pilferers, and to boys. I have not been able to refrain from declaring to you this my advice; may God cause you to elect the best, and direct and preserve you in peace." He then points out the state of the navy, again alludes to the traffic and negotiations carried on between Venice and other towns and countries, and finishes up with a fresh appeal that

God may govern and guard them, and guide them in the right way.[1]

On the 4th of April, 1423, aged eighty years old, Tomaso Mocenigo died. He was buried in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where a beautiful tomb, the work of Pietro di Nicolò of Florence and of Giovanni di Nicolò of Fiesole, and sculptured in 1424, is thus described by Ruskin[2]: "The classical element enters largely into its details, but the feeling of the whole is as yet unaffected. Like all the lovely tombs of Venice and Verona, it is a sarcophagus with a recumbent figure above, and this figure is a faithful but tender portrait, wrought as far as it can be without painfulness, of the Doge as he lay in death. He wears his ducal robe and bonnet—his head is laid slightly aside upon his pillow—his hands are simply crossed as they fall. The face is emaciated, the features large, but so pure and lordly in their natural chiselling, that they must have looked like marble even in their animation. They are deeply worn away by thought and death; the veins on the forehead branched and starting; the skin gathered in sharp folds; the brow high-arched and shaggy; the eye-ball magnificently large; the curve of the lips just veiled by the slight moustache at the side; the beard short, double, and sharp-pointed: all noble and quiet; the white sepulchral dust marking like light the stern angles of the cheek and brow."

The death of Mocenigo finishes an epoch in Venetian history, and closes the scene on much of that magnificence and greatness to which he had raised his country. The chroniclers of all time are unanimous in their praises of him, and though an exception to this is to be found in a modern writer, who speaks of him as being "incapable of a policy suited to the new state of

[1] This speech of the Doge is reported differently by different writers. I have taken the above translation entirely from Sanudo and from Romanin.

[2] Stones of Venice, vol. i., chap. i., The Quarry.

DOGE TOMASO MOCENIGO'S TOMB IN THE CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO.

UNIV. OF MICH.

affairs, and a man too timid and too conservative to carry them out,"[1] this opinion is far from being generally shared. A glance at what he did for Venice may be all the more interesting when compared with what followed in the reign of his successor; and the dissimilarity between Mocenigo and Foscari stands out in strong contrast the closer we study their forms of government. The endeavours of Mocenigo to avoid plunging his country into war on the mainland were as marked and determined as the efforts of Foscari were for an opposite line of action. The mark which time has stamped with approval as to this policy of Mocenigo must cling for ever around his memory, when the manner in which he asserted the position of Venice as a maritime power is taken into consideration. He had the acumen, which was either wanting in his successor, Foscari, or was lost sight of in that Doge's personal ambition, to perceive that the strength, the power, and the permanent success of Venice lay in her developing all her resources by sea, and restricting them by land. Foscari either could not or would not see this; Mocenigo grasped it to the full. And posterity has been left to deplore that the ambition and want of foresight on the part of Foscari had sufficient weight and influence to sweep away in war and ruin the policy which the wisdom and prudence of Mocenigo had striven to establish. For a while, however, that policy had been crowned with success; for at no period of her history had Venice attained to such a height of glory. Her fleets were trading in every port, and commanding all the commerce of the known world; her sources of revenue in Italy and in the East seemed inexhaustible; her influence and authority were such as few nations could boast of at that time in Europe. And this state of things Venice owed in a great measure to Mocenigo. His clear-sightedness as to her true

[1] Antonio Battistella. Il Conte Carmagnola.

interests had ever been employed in urging the Venetian government to abstain from struggles and contests which could bring only bare and hollow rewards, while he had never refrained from counselling war when the advantage or honour of his country had demanded it. His actions, too, were unstained by any taint of selfishness or personal ambition. No thought of aggrandizement, either for himself or his family, ever crept into his designs for the welfare and greatness of Venice; on the contrary, his time, his talents, his wealth, were but so many instruments for the furtherance and consolidation of the glory and strength of the Republic.

Mocenigo may be also considered as among the first originators of political economy. The detailed account he gave of the financial condition of Venice in his dying speech, and at which I have only hinted, entitles him to a high place among political economists, and ranks him among the very first of a class of discoverers and thinkers in that line, who were but then breaking away from the forms and inexperiences of their age, and whose forethought and knowledge enabled every successive generation to advance in a light which they had helped to develop. The wisdom of Mocenigo's laws, the order and decorum he established throughout Venice at a moment when the city was sunk in more than ordinary baseness and immorality, have called forth the encomiums of posterity. It was he who instituted coins in the place of notes of exchange, and the impetus he gave to commerce was such as to bring the credit and position of Venice to a height and renown hitherto unknown, for during his reign the Republic reached a summit of glory and fame such as she had never gained before, and to which she was never to attain again. The encouragement that was given to art by the restoration of the Ducal Palace speaks for itself, and needs no comment here. The foundation of the Library of St. Mark has been ascribed to

Mocenigo's reign, but such was not actually the case. Petrarch had bequeathed his books and manuscripts to the Republic in 1367, and the neglect with which this legacy was treated has called forth much indignation from different quarters. His gift was allowed to remain forgotten and uncared for in a small chamber in the façade of St. Mark's Church, close to where the famous bronze horses stand, and where other papers in the charge of the Procuratori of St. Mark were wont to be kept. In 1422 there was some question of building and endowing a proper library, and for this purpose a sum of 4,000 ducats was set apart, but owing to successive wars this work was continued for one century only and then laid aside.[1]

The splendour and glory won for Venice by Mocenigo, he was anxious she should preserve undimmed, and his instinct warned him that to effect this, his successor must be, like himself, a man of peace. There can be no doubt that Foscari had already given proofs of his ambition, and in no way concealed his liberal tendencies, and the conservative spirit of Mocenigo must have been filled with consternation at the prospect of such a man reigning in his stead. And events were soon to prove how well-founded his fears had been. The impetuous, warlike nature of Foscari could not submit to a policy which he considered antiquated, if not timorous, and he chafed beyond all control at the idea of following in his predecessor's steps. His keenness for war, and his desire to bring all Lombardy under the yoke of Venice, made him blind as to the advantages of peace, and regardless as to what would really benefit his country. He was unable, or, it may be, unwilling, to see that large territories on

[1] The greatest benefactor to the library was Cardinal Bessarion of Trebizond, a Greek, and Patriarch of Constantinople. He was a man of great culture and learning, and presented his priceless collection of manuscripts and codices to the Library of St. Mark in the year 1416.

the mainland would entail upon Venice responsibilities which she was in no wise qualified to incur, and possessions which, instead of adding to her strength, would but cripple her powers and drain her resources to an extent that could but end in ruin. And from the platform of latter days, looking down as it were on the scene through the pages of her history, we have seen how it came to pass. Slowly, but surely, that ruin crept on, and enveloped her in the gloom which wraps a glorious past; a gloom, however, which but adds to the charm which Venice flings over all who know her, and which, like an atmosphere of ennobling sorrow, serves but to heighten the beauty and increase the love that glows and dwells in the hearts of her worshippers.

PORTRAIT OF DOGE FRANCESCO FOSCARI.
From a print given me by Count Camillo Soranzo.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE interest that has been aroused by romance and fiction over the life and misfortunes of Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice, is one that can but increase as the facts of his history and of his reign are brought before us. Two of our own poets[1] have invested him with a halo of sentiment and sympathy which, however allowable in poetry, can hardly be borne out by the sterner truths of reality and research. There is much in the history of Foscari's reign that affected him personally, and at the same time so much in that history of sorrow and misfortune to awaken compassion, that our clearer judgment is at first sight carried away by the pity we feel for him; and perhaps we almost resent the colder though truer view of his life which must break through the veil our commiseration had woven around his fate and story.

The character of Foscari was warlike and ambitious; of this there can be no doubt, and though his desires and projects were for his country's welfare and aggrandizement, and in this respect are worthy of all praise, the result has proved them mistaken.

[1] Byron, The Two Foscari; Rogers, Italy, a poem.

A modern writer[1] has passed a milder judgment on Foscari than the one generally expressed, and speaks of him as a "prudent, cautious man, though inclined to innovations and not averse to war." On the other hand, events have not confirmed this judgment, and few opinions can be found to defend his policy; while the blame that attaches to his name in connection with his warlike views and dealings meets with but feeble excuse. He determined to enlarge his country's possessions on the mainland, and in this, as has already been shown, lay his error. The position of Venice was sufficient in itself to prove how she was intended by nature to remain almost exclusively a maritime power, and the energies and aims of her rulers should, at that moment, have been bent on concentrating all the forces of the Republic in strengthening her defences on the sea-side.[2] At the same time all wars and campaigns on the mainland should have been avoided, since they but weakened her resources, and added in no permanent way to her profit or to her renown.

The period of Foscari's reign was one of the most remarkable in Venetian history, both from internal circumstances and from the wars which the Republic waged almost incessantly during the years in which Foscari was Doge. No dukedom equalled his in length; it extended over a period of thirty-four years, from 1423 to 1457, and none was so filled with strife and warfare.

In the foregoing sketch of Mocenigo's life we have seen to what a height of greatness Venice had attained, and what glory

[1] Il Conte Carmagnola. Studio Storico, con documenti inediti di Antonio Battistella. To this learned and able work, which was published at Genoa in 1889, the prize was awarded at the competition held in 1888 at the Royal Venetian Institute.

[2] That there was need eventually for Venice to extend her territory by land is another and totally distinct question; but that this was not the moment for so doing, events have clearly proved.

that Doge had shed around his name and reign by his steady adherence to peace. To a nature such as Foscari's, of strong self-will and ambition, the idea of continuing in another's steps and gaining only, as it were, reflected glory, must have been altogether repugnant. He seems to have been wanting in sufficient grandeur of soul to be content to pass unnoticed, and to sink his own personality and greatness in the fact of the enduring fame of his people and his country. The sufferings he passed through in his private life, and the courage and dignity he displayed under them, make us almost forget the wrongs he did to the state, and we dwell with more sympathy on the way in which Venice was wanting to him, than on the manner in which he failed her.

The ill-success of Foscari's policy was not apparent, however, for some time, and the high position Venice had gained under his predecessor she maintained for some years, and then by degrees her fame and renown began to decrease.

That this falling-off might have been deferred had Mocenigo's dying speech in regard of Foscari been heeded there can be no doubt; that it could altogether have been avoided is another question, for history furnishes us with no examples as to any nation remaining in the ascendant beyond a certain time, now more, now less; and the wheel of fortune would seem to revolve for nations as for individuals in the same regular uniformity and rotation. We must also consider that though Mocenigo was a man of peace, and his whole policy devoted to its preservation, he was not always successful in the fulfilment of his object, nor able to avoid war, and that not only by sea, but by land as well. The enmity of the Duke of Milan and his aggressive policy kept Venice in a state of offensive and defensive action, and we have seen during Mocenigo's dukedom how defeats and victories followed with alternate success in Lombardy, and how the wars

with Padua, Vicenza, and Verona exhausted for the moment the revenues of the state.

To return, however, to Foscari's election. The forms for the choice of a Doge were observed as usual, and for some time the votes wavered between Foscari and Pietro Loredano.[1] This latter was at one moment about to be chosen, when his election was overruled by Albano Badoer, a friend and supporter of Foscari, who pointed out that Loredano's services could not be spared from naval affairs, with which he was largely conversant; and that he alone was capable of acting as their general in case of war; added to which he was young, and there was time enough for his appointment as Doge in years to come. Loredano arose to plead his cause, which, however, he did with such vehemence, that opinions fell away from him, and Foscari's name came into prominence.[2] The opposition to his nomination was strong. It was urged that he was the youngest member of the Forty, that he had a large and increasing family, and only a limited income. He was accused also of being an enemy to peace, and the words of warning spoken by the dying Mocenigo were quoted to remind the electors of the danger of selecting him as their leader. In spite of all these objections he obtained a majority of votes, and was declared Doge. This was on April 15th, 1423, but the hour was too late for the decision to be made known to the public, so the announcement was deferred to the next day, when Albano Badoer, the oldest among the Senators, proclaimed to the awaiting populace the name of Francesco Foscari as Doge of Venice.

[1] The other senators also talked of for the dukedom were: Marino Caravello, who was, however, considered too old and impotent; Francesco Bembo, whom they also voted too impotent, as he was lame and ill; while against Leonardo Mocenigo, it was urged he should not succeed his brother; and against Contarini, that he had too many children.

[2] Some historians date the enmity between these two great families from this moment, the result of which brought such woe to the house of Foscari.

According to Litta,[1] the family of Foscari came originally from Mestre, but they settled in Venice in 882, where they ranked among the noblest families. They reckoned among their different members senators, prelates, and orators; and Capellari[2] speaks of them as "being withal a God-fearing people, who gave largely in alms; and by them was built the Church of S. Simone Profeta, and a most noble altar was erected by them in the Church of S. Giobbe, while they can also boast of possessing the most beautiful palace that is to be found in Venice." We read that in 1122, during the dukedom of Domenico Michiel, Giovanni and Guglielmo Foscari were made nobles of the Council; and again in 1211, when the Venetians sent a colony of their nobles to settle in Candia, three among them belonged to the Foscari family. No mention is made of Francesco's mother, but his father was Nicolò Foscari, much of whose life was passed in poverty and exile. He was for some time in Egypt, where, it is said, the greatness of his son Francesco was foretold to him. He was eventually recalled to Venice, and became successively Podestà of Chioggia in 1401, and of Padua in 1409, and the next year was made Governor of Verona. His son Francesco was born in 1373, and his first wife was Maria, a daughter of Andrea Priuli, of the great bank of that name, and he married her in 1395. When he was twenty-six years of age he was attached to the Council of Forty, and in 1401, in his capacity as head of that council, he overcame the scruples of his colleagues and persuaded them to go to war against Francis II., lord of Padua. In 1405 he was elected Captain and Podestà of Feltre, and in September of that year was head of the Council of Ten. He was sent as orator to Parma and Cremona in 1409. We find him mentioned more than once as

[1] Litta, Famiglie Celebri.

[2] Capellari, Il Campidoglio Veneto, vol. ii., cod. xvi., classe vii.

pleader and councillor of the Council of Ten, and in May, 1412, he was made Savio della Guerra in the Council of Pregadi. The following year he was sent as ambassador to the King of Hungary, and we read of him occupying in turn the different posts of Inquisitor, Pleader for the State, and Ambassador. In 1415, he married his second wife, Maria, daughter of Bartolommeo Nani, and the next year was made Procuratore of St. Mark. He was sent on the occasion of Pope Martin V.'s (Colonna) elevation to the Papacy, together with Marino Caravello, Antonio Contarini, and Fantino Michiel, to offer the congratulations of the Venetian Republic to the new Pontiff at Constance, and to effect at the same time a reconciliation between Venice and the King of Hungary. Till the moment of his election as Doge he was always employed in one way or another in the service of his country, and the foregoing sketch will serve to show the prominent part he had constantly been called upon to take in the politics of Venice, and the apprenticeship he had served before arriving at the highest dignity.

The very first act of his reign was marked by a change. Up till this date it had been the habit on the election of a Doge for the Council of Forty to address the people in the Church of St. Mark, and to say: "We have elected such a one as Doge, if you approve" (abbiamo eletto il tale per doge, se vi piace). Whether doubts were rife in the minds of the Senators that on this occasion their choice would be questioned, or whether they were anxious to avoid even the semblance of power to remain in the hands of the public, seems uncertain. But Francesco della Sega,[1] the High Chancellor, remarked: "If the people said No, what would happen? Better, therefore, omit these

[1] According to Romanin the suggestion could not have originated with Francesco della Sega, who, he says, was not chosen to the post of Chancellor till the 8th of November, 1439.

words, and say only—We have elected such a one to be Doge." And from that time forward this custom was observed.[1]

The election had lasted for six days, and after the fact of his appointment had been announced, Foscari made a striking address (notabile sermone) to the people, of few words and well-turned sentences, which met with much applause. Feasts and rejoicings of all kinds took place in honour of his election, and to all outward appearance the measure was most popular.

The moment was, however, a disturbed one throughout Europe. France was disputing with the house of Aragon for the possession of Naples; Milan was subservient to Filippo Maria, the last of the Visconti, whose perfidious policy and crooked dealings[2] had brought contempt and hatred upon his duchy, protected though it was by Pope Martin V. The house of Savoy was almost the only power then at peace.[3] The Genoese, exhausted by civil dissensions and by their wars with Venice, were much reduced from their former grandeur; the houses of Este and Gonzaga, together with other minor principalities, were in the normal state of selling themselves alternately to different powers, and betraying all in turn. One Pope succeeded another with equal indifference to the well-being of Italy. The Florentines, full of

[1] In this way, to quote Romanin again, all share that the populace enjoyed in the government came to an end, and the power of the aristocracy remained supreme.

[2] See Sismondi, Rép. It., tom. iv., ch. xiv., and tom. v., ch. iii.

[3] Savoy was at that moment under the rule of Amedeo VIII., who was the first to take the title of Duke, instead of Count of Savoy. He was called the Solomon of his age, as from his wisdom and sagacity he was referred to by other monarchs when in need of guidance or advice. Later in life he abdicated and became a priest, and was made Pope at the Council of Basle, under the name of Felix V., but he soon renounced the tiara on behalf of the rightful Pontiff, Nicholas V., and lived in retirement till his death.

high thoughts and courage, and backed, moreover, by great riches, were endeavouring to found an established government, and were engaged in constant wars, in the hopes of adding to their dominions, or confirming their liberties. It was with them that Foscari thought well after a while to enter into alliance, though this did not prevent his giving a cordial welcome to Cosimo de' Medici, when some years later he was exiled from Florence.

Foscari's reign was opened under auspicious events. In this year, 1423, the first meeting of the Great Council was held in the magnificent room known as the Sala di Maggior Consiglio, now opened for the first time with much pomp and solemnity, in the presence of the Marquis of Mantua and over nine hundred Venetian nobles.

The power of Venice also was increased in the East, by the possession of the town of Salonica. This town was offered to Venice by John Paleologus, then Emperor of Constantinople, whose position was so weak and unstable, he decided to dismember his kingdom among his Christian neighbours sooner than see it fall into the hands of his enemy, Amurath II. The Senate accepted the Emperor's offer; six galleys were got ready in Venice, and a governor and some troops despatched to secure this new possession, to the wrath and indignation of Amurath, who was about to invest the town, and who was enraged that Venice should dare to thwart his projects and interfere with his designs. His preparations for defence assumed such proportions that the Senate thought prudent to try and negotiate with him, and for this purpose sent Nicolò Zorzi as their ambassador. His mission was unsuccessful; the Sultan's anger against the Venetians was unbounded, as he declared that but for them Salonica would have been his. He dismissed Zorzi without a hearing, and shortly after caused him to be

arrested. Such conduct towards their representative was not to be endured by Venice, and war was declared against Amurath. A large fleet was sent under the command of Pietro Loredano to the defence of the city, and though the Venetians were successful in several engagements, peace was not signed till April, 1426, when the right to the town of Salonica was confirmed to Venice.

One result of this intercourse with the East was the scourge of the plague, which was now of frequent occurrence in Venice. From the public records we read that in three months 15,300 persons died, and to provide against so great an evil hospitals were established on the island of S. Maria in Nazaret.[1]

In 1424 the Florentines implored the aid of the Venetians against Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, as, regardless of a treaty but lately signed, the two states were again at war. In justice to Foscari, whose warlike tendencies have caused historians to assert that he always rushed headlong into war, he declined on this occasion to engage in his neighbours' quarrels. The fact, too, of a treaty signed on February 21st, 1421, for ten years, between Filippo and the Venetians, may have had sufficient weight with the Doge to induce him to preserve the peace. The Florentines turned to one power after another for support, and after their defeat at the battle of Zagonara (July 27th, 1424), they again applied to Venice, and were again refused.[2]

That Foscari was looked upon with respect, if not with affection, by his contemporaries, we may gather from the fact that

[1] So called from a church erected in 1249 by hermits for the shelter of pilgrims returning from the Holy Land. This island being also called "Lazzaretto," this name came to be used for establishments of this kind, or more probably from S. Lazzaro, who was the patron saint of lepers and hospitals.

[2] The Florentine ambassadors on this occasion were Palla Strozzi and Giovanni de' Medici, with a brilliant suite.

he was asked in 1425 by Wladislaus V., King of Poland, to stand as godfather to his newly-born son. The Doge accepted the office, and though unable to go in person to Poland, he deputed two Venetian nobles and a bishop to go in his stead, and to hold the royal infant at his baptism.

UNIV OF MICH

ARMS OF DOGE FOSCARI.

CHAPTER II.

1425—1432.

THE year 1425 was famous in the war annals of Venice as being the year in which she secured to herself the services of Francesco Bussone, better known as Carmagnola, and famous as one of the greatest generals of the age. He had been for some time commander of the Duke of Milan's armies, and had risen from the position of private soldier in Filippo's ranks to that of general. It was to his skill that the Duke owed the conquest of Genoa, and the reacquisition of Brescia and its territories. In recognition of his services Filippo had presented him with lands and riches; he had given him one of his natural daughters[1] in marriage, allowing him in consequence to assume the name and arms of the Visconti, and had made him Count of Castelnuovo. He was the son of a peasant of Carmagnola,[2] and the name of his birthplace, which he assumed as his own, is the one by which he was always known, and by which his renown has come down to us. His rise to fortune and the high

[1] Romanin says she was the widow of the minister Barbavara, and probably a natural daughter of Duke Giovanni Galeazzo; consequently sister, and not daughter to Filippo.

[2] Carmagnola is situate a few miles to the south of Turin.

favour in which he stood with Filippo caused him to be an object of jealousy to the Duke's courtiers, and they determined to work his overthrow. They urged upon Filippo to treat him with coldness and indifference, and to cast reproaches and insults upon him; but the culminating blow was given in November, 1424, when the Duke deprived him of the governorship of the town of Genoa. The pride and spirit of Carmagnola could not endure this. He appealed to his master to grant him an interview in which to plead his cause, and being denied this grace, he resolved to leave the service of so ungrateful a patron, and offered himself as general to Amedeo VIII. of Savoy. While this monarch was wavering as to his answer, the Venetian government, whose wariness and promptness were ever on the alert to secure any who were likely to prove of use in their employ, held out to Carmagnola the prospect of shelter and service in Venice.[1] The offer was accepted without delay. Travelling by way of Trent and Treviso to avoid any snares that Filippo might set for him, Carmagnola arrived at Venice on the 23rd of February, 1425. He laid bare to the Senate the secrets and schemes of his late master, and received from them the command of their forces, while an allowance of 6,000 ducats a year was granted him, and he on his part swore to oppose the enemies of the Republic whoever they might be. This appointment was mainly owing to Foscari. He had entered into alliance with the Florentines, and was eager to secure the first general of the age to command the forces of Venice. It was his suggestion that Carmagnola should be heard in the Senate; and after the Count's speech he had brought the whole force of his energy and eloquence to bear in prevailing on the wavering audience to appoint Carmagnola as captain-general of the

[1] Some historians think that Carmagnola offered his services to Venice; an offer which met with eager acceptance.

Venetian arms. Sanudo relates how a solemn mass was held in the Church of St. Mark, when the Doge presented Carmagnola at the high altar with the baton of commander, and the Count swore loyalty to Venice.

This measure was highly displeasing to Filippo; and that Venice should profit so largely by his loss was a bitter reflection to him. He was uneasy, too, in regard of the reputed ambition of Foscari; and soon after Carmagnola's arrival in Venice, the Duke sent two ambassadors to persuade the Venetians of the advisability of peace, and of the advantages to be gained by observing the treaty that had been signed for ten years, on the 21st of February, 1421, between Venice and Milan. On hearing of this act of the Duke, Florence resolved to do the same, only with the view of securing Venice as her ally. These embassies had each to be received and entertained, and, more than all, answered, and that not lightly or inconsiderately, as on this answer hung the issue of peace or war. The way in which the representatives of these two states set to work to fulfil their missions was widely dissimilar. The Milanese were altogether engrossed by the amusements and entertainments with which the city abounded, and to which they gave themselves up entirely, to the neglect of the affairs of state. The Florentines, on the other hand, were bent on carrying out their purpose successfully, and left no stone unturned in order to accomplish this. They had interviews by day and by night with the Venetian nobles, in which they urged them to support their cause; and they also had long and frequent audiences with the Doge, whose sympathies, as they well knew, were already on their side. At some of these interviews Carmagnola was present, but as he was still hoping for a reconciliation with his former master, he professed no great keenness for war, and after attending once or twice he made an excuse to withdraw to Treviso, where the

army to which he had been appointed was stationed, and where he awaited the end of the negotiations.

After much indecision and wavering on the part of the Senate, Foscari persuaded them to give a hearing to the Florentines, which was accordingly done. Their speech, elaborate and subtle, dwelt on the faithlessness of the Duke of Milan, on his boundless ambition, on the treachery he always showed both in his word and in his dealings, and on the danger threatening Florence and Venice should his arms be triumphant in the field. This speech had effect only on those of the Senate who were already disposed for war, while to the rest, and they were the majority, it sounded only as a plea to draw them into a war that their policy and interest warned them to avoid.

The following day an audience was given to the Milanese. Their speech, which dwelt on the long-standing friendship which had existed between Venice and Milan, was received with far more approbation by the Senate, and would probably have met with a favourable answer, but for an event which at that moment came to light. Carmagnola was, as we said, at Treviso, where a plot was discovered to poison him, at the instigation of the Duke of Milan. The Duke's emissary[1] was beheaded, and Carmagnola, judging that all hope of reconciliation with Filippo was at an end, hastened to Venice and gave his vote for war, in which he was warmly supported and seconded by the Doge. Carmagnola pointed out the treachery of the Duke, an example of which was more than evident in his own case; he spoke with authority as to the exhausted state of Milan, both in finance and men, and assured his listeners of the small difficulty that lay before them if, with the help of Florence, they chose

[1] He was a certain Giovanni degli Aliprandi, and distantly connected with the Visconti. He had been outlawed from Milan, and was then living at Treviso on intimate terms with Carmagnola.

now to attack the Duke. To these convincing arguments Foscari brought all the weight of his eloquence to bear, and knowing how powerful his influence and words often proved in the Senate,[1] we cannot be surprised when, on the question being put to the vote, the majority declared in favour of war. In spite of this an effort was made to preserve peace, and for this intent an embassy was sent in November of this year to the Duke, but it proved fruitless. A league was formed in December between Florence and Venice, in which Alfonso, King of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples, and Nicolò, Marquis of Este, also joined, and in the following month of January, 1426, war was declared against Milan.[2] Operations began with the siege of Brescia, where Carmagnola was supported by Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, while the forces opposed to them were under the command of Francesco Sforza. After a siege of eight months Brescia fell into the hands of the allies, but the chief merit of this success was due to Gonzaga, as in the midst of the operations Carmagnola had applied for leave to go to some baths on the plea of ill-health, and his demand had been granted by the Senate.

The news of the conquest of Brescia was received in Venice

[1] "Quando ei voleva facilmente nel Senato soleva ottenere l' intento suo."—Cod. Gradenigo, cl. cxcix., vol. "Doge."—Raccolta Correr.

[2] The terms of the treaty were as follows :—The Florentines and Venetians were each to bring a force of 8,000 horse and 3,000 foot soldiers into the field, by the following month of February; the cost of vessels on the Po was to be mutual; the lands acquired in Tuscany and Romagna were to belong to Florence, those in Lombardy to Venice; and Lugo and Parma were to be ceded to the Marquis of Este; Genoa was to be set free, while the lands belonging to Malatesta should, if he still remained faithful of the Duke, be disposed of as Venice thought fit. In July, 1426, the Duke of Savoy joined this league, when it was agreed that any conquests beyond the Ticino towards Piedmont, and some of the towns further to the north, should be awarded to him.

with every demonstration of exultation and rejoicing. Captives were set free; large sums of money given in charity, and processions of priests bearing relics paraded through the streets in honour of the event. The rage of the Duke on hearing of the loss of Brescia was so great, that he endeavoured to avenge himself by carrying destruction into the very heart of Venice. "In the excess of his rage he had the vileness"[1] to suborn an incendiary to proceed to Venice and set fire to the Arsenal. But the Venetians were not likely to be surprised in such a quarter. Vigilance might be called their leading attribute, and it was not probable that they would leave so important a place as their Arsenal unguarded.[2] The Duke's delegate was captured, and found to be a certain Rigo or Arrigo di Brabante. He underwent frightful tortures, when he revealed his design and the originator of it, and finally was executed.

In the meanwhile the naval forces of Venice, under the command of Francesco Bembo, had obtained considerable success over the Duke of Milan's forces on the Po, and the Duke, to retrieve his fallen fortunes, invoked the aid of Pope Martin V. to conclude peace between him and the Venetians. The Pope despatched the Cardinal of Santacroce[3] to negotiate between the foes, and though for a while peace was proclaimed and a treaty even signed on the island of S. Giorgio Maggiore,

[1] "Nell' eccesso della sua rabbia aveva avuto la viltà," says Cappelletti, lib. xx., cap. xxi.

[2] Even now admittance to see all over the Arsenal of Venice is not easy for foreigners, so we can judge how much more difficult it would have been in those days, and how jealously it would be guarded and protected.

[3] He was Nicolò Albergati, and born at Bologna in 1375. He was made bishop of this town in 1417, and in May, 1426, was appointed Cardinal of Santacroce in Gerusalemme. He died at Siena in 1443, and eventually was canonized. Sanudo and others have erroneously named Cardinal Giordano Orsini as the Pope's deputy on this occasion—an error demonstrated by Battistella, *op. cit.*

the conditions proved so distasteful to both parties, that, to use Sanudo's words, it "ended in smoke" ("sicchè la pace andò in fumo"),[1] and in a few months the two states were again at war; the first operation being the siege of Casalmaggiore.

This town, belonging to Venice, was defended by Fantino Pisani, who, in sore need of men and stores, applied for reinforcements to Contarini[2] (at that moment in command of the naval forces), and to Carmagnola. His demands met with no attention from either general. Pisani had no choice but to surrender, and in this way Casalmaggiore was lost to Venice. Carmagnola's conduct excited the wrath of the Republic, but a brilliant victory gained by him on the 12th October, 1427, over the Duke's armies under the command of Carlo Malatesta, son of the lord of Pesaro, at Maclodio, calmed for the time their resentment. This overthrow of the Milanese forces was complete. Malatesta, and a large number of officers[3] and men, were taken prisoners, but the mortification of the Venetians can be conceived, when, on the day after the battle, Carmagnola, either from a sense of generosity, or from thoughtlessness of the prize in his possession, restored all the prisoners to liberty, depriving them only of their arms, and exacting from them no ransom.[4] The Senate, preferring to ascribe this policy

[1] Sanudo, Vite de' Duchi di Venezia, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tomus xxii.

[2] Francesco Bembo was reinstated to his command in the following year.

[3] The principal officers serving under Malatesta were Angelo della Pergola, Guido Torello, Francesco Sforza, and Nicolò Piccinino. The two latter saved themselves by flight from falling into the conqueror's hands. Much of the success of the Venetian arms has been ascribed to the divisions which existed in the Milanese camp. Malatesta himself was then a young and inexperienced general, and had opposed to him not only the superior knowledge of Carmagnola, but that of Gonzaga and Nicolò da Tolentino as well.

[4] In justice to Carmagnola it must be borne in mind that the "condottieri"

of their general to heedlessness sooner than to treason (of which in reality they considered it a proof), took no outward notice of an act which provoked them sorely, and, to conceal their suspicions, presented Carmagnola with a castle in the territory of Brescia, an income of 500 ducats, and assigned to him a palace at St. Eustachio, formerly owned by Pandolfo Malatesta. Congratulations and thanks were also poured upon Gonzaga, and he too was presented with a "bella e onorevole" house in Venice. Peace was again made between Venice and Milan through the intervention of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Santacroce, and signed in April, 1428, at Ferrara, the plague being at that moment in Venice. By it the Republic remained in possession of Bergamo and nine provinces in the north of Italy,[1] but on the other hand her exchequer had been drained by this campaign. Carmagnola, who in the treaty had secured the restitution of his lands and fortune, was honoured with a triumphal entry into Venice, besides being presented with divers gifts and privileges. The honours done to Carmagnola after the signing of this peace were marked. He was confirmed in his post of captain-general, and allowed a following of 1,500 lances and an annual pension of 1,000 golden ducats. His title of Count was ratified, and the feudal possession of the strongholds of Chiari and Roccafranca in Brescia granted to him. A great function was also held in his honour in the Square of St. Mark, where a

of that day invariably released their prisoners after an engagement. It was considered as a matter of etiquette by them, and done with the view of prolonging a campaign, and thus providing also increased pay and occupation for themselves.

[1] Speaking of these provinces and the small advantage their possession brought to Venice, Daru says: "C'étaient de belles conquêtes sans doute; cependant elles ne formaient qu'un état d'une importance médiocre, et qui n'assurait point aux Vénitiens, sur terre, une supériorité telle que celle dont ils avaient joui sur mer."—Daru, Histoire de Venise, lib. xiv.

scaffolding, beautifully adorned with tapestry, was erected, and high mass celebrated on it. At the conclusion of this the Doge and Council and a host of gentlemen proceeded to Carmagnola's house, where a great feast ("notabilissimo pasto") was given amid much rejoicing.

Some friendly relations, in spite of these treaties which were broken as soon as they were made, must have existed between Venice and Milan, for we read [1] that in 1428, Filippo writes to the Signory to announce his marriage with a sister of the Duke of Savoy, and he invites "Messer the Doge and his Councillors, the Marchese of Ferrara, and others, to the said wedding and feasts." The answer to this invitation was that the plague being then in Venice, and Messer the Doge not wishing to introduce such an evil into Lombardy, he could not attend the Duke's wedding in person, but he deputed as his ambassador and representative, Giorgio Cornaro.

The following year the town of Bologna rose in open revolt against the Pope, Martin V., when the Papal Legate was expelled, and the aid of Venice implored by the insurgents. The Venetians were, however, too wary to make an enemy of the Pope for so profitless a reason, and refused their help. But peace was procured, according to Cappelletti, "by means of the gentleness and insinuating manners of the Venetians, who calmed the wrath of the contending parties, and restored friendly relations once more." [2]

On the 20th of January, in 1431, Pope Martin V. died; and in him the Duke of Milan lost a firm ally. The anxiety of the Venetians was great that his successor should be one who would have their interests and concerns more at heart. Their hopes were fulfilled by the appointment to the Papacy of Gabriele

[1] Sanudo.

[2] Cappelletti, lib. xx., cap. xxvii.

Condulmer, Bishop of Siena, who was a Venetian by birth, and who became Pope under the name of Eugenius IV.

The aspect of affairs throughout Italy was far from peaceful at this moment. Parma and Piacenza were on the eve of being assaulted by Rinaldo Pallavicini, and Gian Giacopo di Monferrato was carrying his arms against Alessandria. In Genoa the faction of the Fiesco was causing civil dissension; the lords of Ferrara and of Mantua were at war; while the Duke of Milan was fighting against Florence. The Duke's forces were commanded by Nicolò Piccinino and Francesco Sforza, two of the most famous generals of the day; and his cause was supported by the towns of Genoa, Siena, Lucca, and Piombino, while the enmity borne by the Pisans and the people of Volterra against Florence made them warm adherents of the Visconti.

The success hitherto obtained by the Venetian armies was dimmed this year by the defeat they sustained at Soncino, when their commander Carmagnola was obliged to fly, and owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse.[1] This was followed by a still more overwhelming naval defeat on the Po in June of the same year. This engagement took place on the banks of the Po above Cremona, and was one of the most serious reverses Venice had yet met with. The Milanese were commanded by Pasino Eustacchio, supported by Piccinino and Sforza. The Venetian admiral was Nicolò Trevisano, while a large force was close at hand on terra firma under Carmagnola, who however made no attempt to help his brother officer, but looked on at the complete overthrow (for such it was) of the Venetian fleet, without making the least effort to come to the rescue. It was a victory for Milan that more than wiped out the disgrace of the defeat at Maclodio; and the Duke wrote to announce his triumph to the

[1] According to Sanudo, Francesco Capello was the commander.

Emperor Sigismund with a pride and satisfaction that were but natural.

The indifference of Carmagnola, which had been evident on three or four occasions, and had already excited the suspicions of the Venetian Senate, was now of such a nature as to exasperate them in real earnest, though in conformity with their tactics they made no open demonstration of their intentions, but awaited some further proof of Carmagnola's perfidy to reveal their policy. A signal victory obtained by their fleet under Pietro Loredano over the Genoese at Portofino[1] in August, 1431, served to comfort them to some extent for their previous disasters.

In Filippo Visconti the Venetians had an ever-vigilant foe, and we find him making attempts this year to embroil them with their states and raise sedition in Friuli. The endeavour failed, but Venice, to show her resentment and to avenge herself, resolved to poison the Duke. The scheme, which was not a noble one, was discussed before the Council of Ten, when such difficulties were foreseen in its fulfilment, that it was finally abandoned.

There was also at this time grave cause for uneasiness in regard of Carmagnola, and suspicions in the minds of the rulers of Venice were rife as to his loyalty towards the Republic. On more than one occasion his behaviour had offended them. He had declined to send help to Casalmaggiore when it was besieged; he had released without ransom 8,000 prisoners with their leader, Malatesta, at the battle of Maclodio; by his inaction he had contributed to the defeat of the Venetian fleet; and lastly, he had allowed the opportunity of possessing himself of Cremona to escape him when it was within his grasp. Such offences

[1] The dates as to this battle differ, as do also its names, for it is spoken of as Portofino, Rapallo, Caputmontis, S. Fruttuoso. The Genoese commander was Francesco Spinola.

could not be overlooked. The Council of Ten met to confer on the matter, and despatched their secretary, Giovanni de Imprimiis, with a letter to Carmagnola's castle at Brescia summoning the Count to appear in Venice. This letter is a curious one, and is a specimen of how Venice dealt with those of her servants who had offended her, and on whom she meant to be revenged. The cunning and deceit of such dealings strike us forcibly and unpleasantly, but we must remember that Venice was not given to consider ways and means when she had an object in view or an insult to be avenged. The Venetian historians enlarge on the sagacity of their government, and their wisdom in ensnaring Carmagnola, and point with pride to the secresy and mystery with which he was decoyed to Venice. We do not withhold our admiration when we read that the secret of Carmagnola's trial and doom, though known for six months before it was carried out to 200 persons, was faithfully kept; and we agree with Cappelletti that such a thing could nowhere have been the case except in Venice.[1] The letter of the Council of Ten instructs de Imprimiis to proceed to Brescia to Count Carmagnola, and after the usual salutations and exhortations, he is to say that the moment being a fitting one for the advancement of the honour and glory of the state, they are anxious to confer with their general as to the most advantageous mode of procedure, and entreat his presence as soon as possible. The letter sent to Carmagnola himself was much shorter. It runs thus: "Our faithful secretary, Giovanni de Imprimiis, a prudent man and a circumspect, has been charged by us to refer certain of our affairs to your Excellence, hence we pray you to render that faith to his injunctions which you would give to ourselves." Orders were given all along the road by which he was to pass

[1] "Ciò che non vedesi che in Venezia."—Cappelletti, lib. xxi., cap. vii.

that he should be received as one to whom all honour was due, and nothing was left undone to dispel all suspicion, should any arise in the Count's mind. And never was anyone more fully deceived. He believed that more and more honours were to be showered on him, that the Republic could not do without him, and in this belief he came to Venice. On his arrival he was met with every appearance of honour, and a special escort of eight gentlemen appointed to attend him. He was taken to the Ducal Palace, and told he was to dine with the Doge. After waiting for some time in vain, he was about to repair to his own house, when Leonardo Mocenigo, one of the "Savii" of the Council, appeared, and told him the Doge was not well enough to receive him, but that he would see him next day. Carmagnola then rose to go home, always followed by his eight attendants, but when about to pass towards where his gondola was awaiting him, he was directed towards the door leading to the prisons, and told that was the road. He remonstrated, saying it was not the way. "It is the way, and the right one," was the reply, and then for the first time he seemed to realize his position, and exclaimed with a deep sigh: "I am lost" ("Sono perduto"). When those about him tried to console him, he remarked: "Birds that are to be set at liberty are not put into cages." His trial began on the 9th of April, when a Giunta, or addition of twenty extra members, was formed in order to conduct the trial with more than ordinary importance.[1] Carmagnola's wife was ordered to come to Venice, and all his personal goods were seized, together with all the papers which related in any way to his dealings with the state. Sanudo tells us that the Count was

[1] The "Giunta" was generally formed of ten extra members, but on this occasion, owing to the importance and intricacy of the case under discussion, the "Giunta" consisted of twenty; so with the original ten members of the Council, the Doge, and his six councillors, the number in council ran up to thirty-seven.

put to the torture so as to compel him to pronounce himself guilty, and that under most fearful agony he did so. The Council of Ten having in this way gained their object, they proceeded to pass sentence on him, and he was condemned to be executed between the two columns, where he was to be taken "with a gag in his mouth, and his head cut off so that he die."

The Doge did his utmost to save Carmagnola. Probably the knowledge that it was through his influence that the Count had been appointed captain-general of the Venetian forces, made him anxious to save his protégé's life, and he pleaded that the sentence should he commuted into the milder form of imprisonment for life. This proposal was seconded by three of the councillors, Luca Mocenigo, Francesco Barbarigo, and Daniele Vitturi, but it was supported by eight votes only, and the sentence of death was carried by a large majority.

The question as to Carmagnola's guilt or innocence has been often discussed, and much opprobrium has been cast upon Venice as to the verdict passed upon the Count, as well as the way in which it was carried out. The charge is, I think, an unjust one. Of Carmagnola's treachery towards Venice there can be little doubt, and that no other course was open to the Venetian government than the one she followed seems equally certain. Against such an opinion may be urged the fact that the secret documents relating to the trial have perished in the flames, whether accidentally or designedly, who will undertake to say? but apart from these a large number of papers on the subject are still extant, and furnish ample proof and evidence that the Venetian government saw in Carmagnola a traitor to their country, whose death was necessary for the safety and welfare of the state.[1] The publicity with which Venice announced her

[1] I am supported in my view by Antonio Battistella in his learned work to which reference has already been made—Il Conte Carmagnola.

intentions and dealings towards Carmagnola to the other powers of Italy is another proof of the justice of her conduct. She knew that Carmagnola was disloyal, and she was not ashamed to proclaim to the world the measure she meted to those who betrayed her. And again, when we remember that the Council of Ten had on this occasion a "giunta" of twenty extra members, chosen from the noblest and oldest families of Venice, we cannot for a moment suppose them all so bigoted and prejudiced as to condemn a man whom they did not in their hearts consider guilty, and deserving of the doom they passed on him.

On the 5th of May, 1432, this sentence was carried out. The Count is described as appearing for execution in gala dress, with scarlet leggings, a velvet cap "alla Carmagnola," a crimson jerkin and scarlet vest with cuffs trimmed all round. He was accompanied to the scaffold by the priests of Sta. Maria Formosa bearing the crucifix. In three blows his head was severed from his body. His remains were laid in the cloister of the Church of the Frari, but afterwards removed to S. Francesco Grande at Milan. The Venetian state made provision for his widow and daughters, which, however, they forfeited some time after by refusing to live within the territories of Venice.

CHAPTER III.

1429.

E must now glance backward for a moment at some of the events which concern the reign of Foscari, but which we had passed over so as to follow uninterruptedly the career and fate of Carmagnola.

In 1429 the town of Salonica was lost to Venice, owing to the want of vigilance shown by the two commanders, Andrea Donato and Paolo Contarini. To avenge this loss a fleet was despatched to the East under the command of Fantino Michiel, and the honour of Venice vindicated by fresh conquests. At the same time the pirates who infested those seas were put down, and an amicable league entered into with the Sultan Amurath II.

In March of the following year, 1430, an attempt was made against the life of the Doge. The would-be assassin was a young man of the Contarini family, by name Andrea, who bore a grudge against Foscari for having, as he thought, prevented his appointment to the post of Captain of the Gulf. It was proved that he was of unsound mind, and though he failed in his purpose, he succeeded in wounding the Doge in the face, several times, according to Romanin, but other writers say only slightly. Contarini was taken, and brought before the

Council of Ten, when he was condemned to have his right hand amputated, and then to be executed between the two columns. We give below the sentence passed on him by the Ten, which is preserved among the papers of that tribunal in the Venetian archives, and which may be of interest as being now published for the first time.

MCCCCXXX. die. xj. Marcij

Ser Alexander georgio
Ser Johannes Carisino } Capita
Ser Laurentius Donato

Si videtur nobis per ea que dicta et lecta sunt, quod procedatur contra Ser Andream contareno condam ser Nicolaj militis, pro Insultu et Vulnere Illato in personam Serenissimi domini ducis Veneciarum

de parte	13
non	0
non sinceri	0

die. predicto.

Ser Sipio bono
Ser Vitus de Canali
Ser Vitalis Miani
Ser Homobonus Griti } consiliarij
Ser Antonius michael
Ser Andreas Baffo caput de XL. loco consiliarii
Ser Alexander georgio
Ser Johannis carisini et
Ser Laurentius donato et
Advocatores communis.

Quod iste Ser Andreas contareno condam ser Nicolaj militis,

debeat extrahi de Camera tormenti hodie et duci ad finem scalarum lapidearum palatii, in quo loco debeat sibi amputari manus dextera, et cum ipsa ligata ad Colum ducatur in medio duarum Columnarum, vbi ad furcas que ibi fieri debeant suspendatur, taliter quod moriatur, et stare debeat sic suspensus per totam diem lune proximam.

de parte 12
non sinceri 1

Factum fuit ut in parte continetur.

Consigli dei X, Misti, R° 11°, carte stergo.

A conspiracy had been organized early in the year 1432, by the younger nobles of Venice, against the Council of Ten, by which they strove to increase their power, and obtain some influence in the disposal of government offices. The plot was discovered, however, before it had time to assume important proportions, and its only result was to consolidate and confirm the ever-growing power and preponderance of the Council.

In the meanwhile the war with Milan still continued. After the death of Carmagnola the Venetians had tried to persuade the Florentines to give up to them their general, Sforza, alleging that the common cause would gain by such a measure, and that were he at the head of the Venetian forces in Lombardy, it would be of more use than leaving him to devote his talents to the siege of Lucca, of which the Florentines were at that moment keen to possess themselves. This proposal met with no favour either from the Florentines, or from Sforza himself, and the Venetians were obliged to content themselves with Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to command their armies. This appointment was of short duration. In spite of the alliance and friendship that were of long standing between the Venetians and

the house of Gonzaga, an alliance that had ever proved advantageous to both parties, the Duke of Milan had succeeded by his wiles and insinuations in inducing the Marquis to join his cause, and abandon that of Venice. His place was filled by Erasmo de Narni, better known to us as Gattamelata, who was raised to the rank of a Venetian noble, and to bind him still more closely to his new masters he was given a house at S. Paolo, while the Senate sent Marco Foscari, the Doge's brother, and Paolo Tron to confer on him the title of General of the Republic. The history of this war with Milan is monotonous in the extreme, as beyond two or three brilliant actions, such as Gattamelata's march across the mountains of Trentino to the north of the Lake of Garda, and Sforza's taking of the town of Verona, one operation succeeded another with but slight variety; treaties were made only to be broken; "those who to-day were friends, to-morrow were foes;"[1] while the treachery and faithlessness of Filippo made all reliance on his word or honour impossible.

In 1433, however, peace for a time was proclaimed, and Foscari judged the moment a fitting one for proposing to abdicate the dukedom. He had brought Venice to a prosperous and flourishing condition; her territory was increased by three large provinces in Lombardy; the war with Milan had been brought, at all events for the time,[2] to a close; and the Doge might well have hoped that by resigning his office at such a moment he would deserve well of his country, and silence for ever the envy and jealousy that had pursued him ever since his election. Foscari's offer of abdication, though noticed by his historians, has sometimes been considered to have been made more for the sake of effect than in reality. It has not either been mentioned in the Public Records, for the six votes required to make a question

[1] Romanin.

[2] This peace, which lasted only a year, was broken by Filippo.

a public one,[1] not having been obtained by the Doge, the matter was not brought before the Great Council.[2] His offer was not accepted. It was pointed out to him that his country's good required his presence at the head of affairs, and to such a plea Foscari was not deaf.

It was in this year that the Medici were expelled from Florence, and Cosimo, Pater Patriæ, came to Venice, where he remained for some time, and received from Foscari a cordial and honourable welcome.[3]

Two years after this date a conspiracy, stirred up by the Duke of Milan, was rife in Padua to restore the rule of the Carraresi in that town, and to fling off the Venetian yoke. The attempt proved a failure, and Marsiglio Carrara, on whose behalf it had been organized, was ordered to appear at Venice, where, after undergoing examination and torture, he was condemned, and executed on the Piazzetta. With him ended the public history of the house of Carrara, whose rule in Padua had lasted for eighty-six years, and whose downfall secured Padua for ever to the Venetian dominion.

In 1436 we find the Council of Basle still sitting. It had been convoked in 1424 by Martin V.,[4] in the hopes of uniting the Churches of the East and the West. For several years efforts were made to effect this union, and many were the princes and potentates who passed through Venice to attend the Council, and who strove by their advice and counsel to bring about a junction, which, however, always proved an impossibility. Among these visitors to Venice was the Emperor of Con-

[1] Promissione di M. Morisini, 1249.

[2] Romanin says that in 1442, and in 1446, Foscari again proposed to abdicate, and that neither of these offers are recorded in the papers of the Great Council, for the reason above given.

[3] He was recalled to Florence in September, 1434.

[4] It did not actually open till the 23rd of July, 1431.

THE HEAD OF THE GUILD OF CARPET-MAKERS PRESENTING THE "MARIEGOLA," OR CODE OF LAWS, DRAWN UP BY THAT COMPANY, TO DOGE FOSCARI, IN ORDER TO RECEIVE THE SANCTION OF THE DOGE AND COUNCIL OF TEN IN REGARD OF THEM.

From an original in the Correr Museum.

stantinople,[1] with his brother Alessio, and Sanudo, with his usual minuteness, gives an account of how the Doge went after dinner, accompanied by the Signory in large boats (called from their size and shape "Piatti"—dishes), and many gentlemen as well, to visit him and to rejoice over his coming. And the Doge went on board the Emperor's galley and removed his cap; the Emperor also took off his hat, and in consequence no one ventured to remain with their heads covered. He goes on to say how, this visit being ended, the Doge went to visit the Greek Patriarch on another boat, and although the Doge showed the same courtesy in again removing his cap, the Patriarch did not respond in the same fashion, but in fact did nothing.[2]

The hospitality of Venice has always been well known; and on this occasion we read how emperors, patriarchs, bishops, and others were entertained both in the town and on the island of S. Giorgio Maggiore in princely style. The Council of Basle had offended Pope Eugenius IV. in more ways than one, and to mark his displeasure he annulled it by a papal bull, and in 1437 invoked one in its place at Ferrara. Among the dignitaries of Church and State whom he summoned to this Council was the Greek Emperor, John Paleologus, who came in the hopes that he might secure help for his own quarrels, and at the same time carry out his desire to cement the union of the two Churches. He, too, came to Venice, and the account of the reception given to him and to his brother Demetrius, Despot of the Morea, shows it to have been indeed magnificent. The Emperor was received by the Doge, the Senators, and all the chief magistrates of Venice on board the "Bucentaur," which was covered with

[1] This was Amurath II. Sanudo calls him Emperor of Constantinople, though the Sultans did not take this title till the year 1453.

[2] Sanudo, *op. cit.*

red silk richly ornamented, and at the prow the winged lion was displayed, with other emblems, all in pure gold, together with fine pictures. They were surrounded on all sides by boats and barges with all the grandees of Venice on board, accompanied by bands of music, and flags flying in all directions. The rowers were dressed in rich stuffs embroidered with gold; on the front of their caps was the lion of St. Mark, at the back the Imperial eagle, and nothing was omitted that could serve in one way or another to enhance the splendour of the pageant. The Doge stepped on board the Emperor's barge, and after an obsequious greeting, placed himself humbly on his left hand, and conversed with him at length in a friendly manner, says Romanin, while they proceeded on their way to the town. The number of archbishops, patriarchs, and other magnates is a large one; and we read how these visitors to Venice were allowed to inspect her possessions, and were taken to see the jewels and treasures of St. Mark, the Doge himself on occasions acting the part of cicerone.

The courtesy and ceremonial shown towards her guests is a well-known trait in the history of Venice, both in past and present times; and in March, 1438, we read of the Signory going in state to take leave of the Cardinal of Florence, and of their going without the Doge, who was in mourning for the death of his son. Which this son would be we cannot say for certain, as we know nothing of them beyond the fact that four died of the plague, the youngest, Domenico, who died in 1441, being, according to Litta,[1] a youth of great promise. The Cardinal of Florence, or more properly of Sant' Angiolo, had been to the Ducal Palace to visit the Sala Nuova, probably the Sala of the Maggior Consiglio, which had been opened a few years previously, and also to visit the Doge, who accompanied

[1] Celebri Famiglie.

him to the great door of St. Mark's Church, and who, to the Cardinal's great pleasure, returned his visit next day.[1] The rareness with which any personal action of Foscari's is to be met with makes one attach more weight than the occasion warrants to these details of his life, and the reader must make allowance for what is trivial in this relation, remembering it is done to try and give colour and interest to a life whose personality is wellnigh lost sight of in the events and catastrophes which surrounded and absorbed it.

It was during Foscari's dukedom that the city of Ravenna came under the protection, or, to speak more truly, the dominion of Venice. In 1275 the famous Guido da Polenta[2] had established his rule in the city, and till 1390 his descendants had governed there with full sway, confirming their authority by calling themselves "Vicars of the Pope." The dissensions that arose in Ravenna in 1413 assuming proportions beyond the control of Obizzo da Polenta, he applied the next year for help to Doge Tomaso Mocenigo, who sent a podestà to assist him, and from that moment Ravenna was under the joint government of the Polenta and Venice. After Obizzo's death his son Ostasio, anxious to shake off the assistance and encroachment of Venice, made a secret league with the Duke of Milan, which was, however, soon discovered by the Venetians, and they sent Antonio Jacopo Marcello as their podestà to Ravenna. He immediately took possession of the town in the name of the Republic, Ostasio and his family were exiled to Candia, where this last of the lords of Ravenna died, and his city was enrolled among the dependencies of Venice. Sanudo gives a briefer

[1] Sanudo.

[2] He was the father of Francesca da Polenta, who married Gianciotto Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, and whose tragic history Dante has immortalized in the fifth canto of his Inferno.

description than other writers of this conquest, merely observing: "On the 15th of August, 1440, our Signory possessed the town of Ravenna by the will of the citizens and people, . . . and having the said city, the lord thereof, who was called Ostasio da Polenta, with his wife and his son, were sent into exile, and provision was made them to live in the town of Candia."

In this same year Francesco Sforza came to Venice, and we read of such heavy snow and rain on the 15th of April that the Doge was unable to go and meet him as he intended doing, on account of the weather. The history of Sforza's intrigues with the Republic and with his father-in-law, the Duke of Milan, are never-ending, and to relate them would take more space than we can spare; but he was, like the "condottieri" of that day, always changing sides, and we find him at one moment in the pay of Filippo, and at the next in command of the Republic's forces, and serving alternately under the different banners of Florence, Milan, and Venice till the year 1441, when peace was signed, and Sforza's services secured permanently to the Visconti cause by his marriage with Bianca, the Duke's illegitimate daughter, whose hand had been constantly promised to him, and as constantly withdrawn. There is a description given in Sanudo of the reception given to Sforza and his bride, when, soon after the signing of this peace, they came to Venice and were received with every mark of respect and ceremony; and while the Princess was fêted and entertained with all courtesy and honour, the Count was taken by the Doge in person to see over the Arsenal and the Treasury of St. Mark, and was presented by him with a jewel worth a thousand ducats.

CHAPTER IV.

1441.

WE have now come to a time when the family affairs of the Doge present themselves before the public—those affairs which were to play so important a part in Foscari's history, and which were to characterize it with all the dignity and interest that sorrow and misfortune can stamp upon the drama of life.

Francesco Foscari had been married twice, his first wife being Maria Priuli, and the second Maria Nani. He had had ten children, five sons and five daughters, but of these sons four had died of the plague, and only one, Jacopo, survived. The accounts given of this son differ, some saying that "he was a youth of great personal beauty (un giovane leggiadro della persona), well-mannered, and of ready wit; a lover of study, and held in confidence by grave and learned men." Others, again, speak of him as a giddy, thoughtless youth, without much sense ("di poco senno"), reckless and extravagant.[1] His marriage with Lucrezia Contarini in 1441 was celebrated with a state and magnificence remarkable even in Venice, and no ceremony of that nature has ever equalled it. We are able to judge for ourselves of its pomp and splendour from a letter still extant,

[1] See Romanin. Lezioni di Storia Veneta. Vol. I. Lezione XX.

written by Ramberto and Jacopo Contarini, brothers of the bride, to another brother, Andrea, who was then at Constantinople.[1] A translation of some of this letter may prove of interest from its extreme minuteness, which, coming from a man's pen, excites our surprise, though at the same time we cannot but be grateful for so exact a description of the trousseau considered necessary for a noble Venetian bride in those days. "We gave her," say the brothers, "a portion of 16,000 ducats, and 1,000 ducats in loan, and her things (cose), and seeing that she was going into the ducal family, we could not do otherwise than spend on her things 600 ducats. Besides which, let me tell you, she had nothing more than Paula had, except that, instead of a gown for the house (vesta per casa) she had had made a dress of gold brocade with short sleeves, which cost in all 125 golden ducats." After saying what joy was felt in the Foscari family from this marriage, as they seemed to have found all that could be looked for in the bride, the letter goes on to speak of the way in which "Madonna Lucrezia" bore herself, saying: "And truly the maiden behaved and does behave so well, beyond what could have been looked for; I believe she was inspired by God, and may He grant her to go on ever improving." Then follows a detailed account of her gowns: "You must know that so far there have been made and cut four dresses of gold, which are: 1st, a dress of gold and crimson, and that it should be as rich as possible it cost 18 ducats the ell, with open sleeves, lined with squirrel fur, with a train (literally 'a tail'—una coda) on the ground of an ell and a half in length. The next was a cloth of gold ground and peacock colour, that cost 12 ducats the ell, made like the other, only that the sleeves were lined with ermine; another was of gold brocade with open sleeves; this, too, like the others, was long

[1] *Vide* Flaminii Cornelii Opuscula quatuor, pag. 167.

on the ground, and the sleeves also down to the ground lined with squirrel fur. This cost 7 ducats the ell. Another with open sleeves was of damask worked in gold, the price being 6 ducats the ell, and the sleeves lined with ermine; so that the four dresses cost about two thousand ducats. She was also given a beautiful ornament for her hair (Formacetto di Drezza) with a large pearl in it; a ruby; an emerald; and a diamond worth a great deal of money; a shoulder-clasp with a large diamond, a pearl, and a 'Balasso,'[1] worth 3,500 ducats. Also a necklace, which was the same worn by the Queen of Cyprus, and worth 2,000 ducats. There were many finger rings, and among them four large 'Balassi' worth 2,000 ducats. All of which things would be fit for a great Queen, and served to show that she needed not to apply for aught to the Doge, all having been given to her voluntarily. And for this wedding great feastings and rejoicings were held, so that no man remembers to have seen the like in this land." Summing up the wonders and glories of the whole entertainment, the letter ends thus: "But to prove to you the magnificence of the feasts, let me tell you that in the great Hall, where sixty torches are usually lighted, there were one hundred and twenty, and that during the three feasts; and in regard of the food, there was nothing but capons, partridges, peacocks, oysters, and sweetmeats, and all in such abundance that after everyone was satisfied enough remained to throw away. . . . On this Thursday we hold a grand feast at home, and as Madonna la Dogaressa cannot be there, as her son Messer Domenigo has died but lately, I give you to understand that Lucrezia will then act in her place."

Several writers have thought fit to describe this wedding, and from their accounts, together with this letter, we learn that the bride, escorted by her female relations and those of the

[1] Balasso is the Venetian for "Balascio," or Balas-ruby.

bridegroom, to the number of sixty, went in two barges, such as were known as "Piattoni," to the Ducal Palace. Here a great supper was served in the evening, after which the bride returned home. A few days after the wedding itself was celebrated at the palace, but privately, only the Doge, the Dogaressa, and a few relations being present; and then it was settled, that on Sunday, the 29th of January, the bride should make her solemn entry into the Ducal Palace. On that day, accordingly, the festival was inaugurated by eighteen members of the Guild of Stockings (Compagnia della Calza[1]), among whom were Jacopo Foscari and his brothers-in-law, arriving on horseback at the house of the giver of the feast, who was a certain Balbi. The dress of these youths was of silver brocade of Alexandria, with jackets of crimson velvet, with slashed sleeves lined with squirrel fur, and crimson belts, and on their heads they wore large caps "alla Sforzesca," of a bright red colour. They were attended by six waiting men, dressed in fanciful coats, with the divided stockings, and each one was mounted on a noble steed, whose trappings were of green velvet, covered with different kinds of silver decorations. A train of youths followed this cavalcade, dressed in silks and brocades, and attended by soldiers, so that the

[1] This company did not belong, as has been sometimes imagined, to any knightly order, but was a society, formed in the fifteenth century, of Venetian gentlemen, who, under the patronage of the ruling powers, provided sports and amusements at their own expense, and especially during Carnival, or when any distinguished guests came to Venice. Their name came from the peculiarity of their stockings, which were of different colours, and parti-coloured from the thigh downwards, as is seen again and again in Carpaccio's pictures. The stockings were sometimes of gold or silver or decorated with pearls and other precious stones, and the division of the stocking served also to denote the different faction to which the wearer belonged; though after a while these sects became so numerous that the split colouring was insufficient to point out the party represented by its wearer.

company amounted in all to 250 persons, all of whom were mounted on horseback. They proceeded through the town (and we must remember that Venice, unlike other cities, was not accustomed to the sight of processions on horseback) by circuitous routes to the Square of St. Mark and the courtyard of the Ducal Palace, and from here they passed on to San Samuele, where a bridge of boats led them across the Grand Canal to S. Barnaba, where the bride lived. She was conducted by the cortége to this church, when mass was celebrated, after which, in the space in front of the church, which was filled with people, and in the presence of the Doge and a large company of foreign princes and ambassadors, an oration was made, in which the virtues of the ancestors of both families were dwelt upon largely, and their descendants incited to follow in their steps. The bride then went home, while the cavalcade again paraded through the town, displaying their equestrian skill in sports and mimic fights. After this a great banquet was given in the Ducal Palace, and when this was over a party of ladies, dressed in their gayest attire, went in the "Bucentaur" to the bride's palace, who with her following of a hundred ladies stepped on board the state barge, and proceeded to Conte Francesco Sforza's palace. The bride took her seat between him and the Florentine ambassador, and all repaired to the Ducal Palace. The Doge came to the Piazza to meet his daughter-in-law, who walked between him and Sforza to the foot of the stairs, where she was met by the Dogaressa and a train of fifty ladies. They entered the palace, where amid sounds of revelry and dancing "all went merry as a marriage-bell."

The next day Conte Sforza, in accordance with the customs of that time, caused a tournament to be held in honour of the wedding in the Square of St. Mark, when the prize was a piece of cloth of gold, valued, says Sanudo, at 140 zecchini, and for which forty competitors contended. In the evening there was

dancing again in the palace, when the Guild of the Stockings gave the supper. The following day the jousts were stopped on account of such heavy rain that the only entertainment possible was a boat race, but beyond this one interruption nothing seems to have marred the course of feasting and dancing, which lasted for several days. The rejoicings came to an end after a tournament given by the Doge as a return for all the cordiality and generosity which had been so largely shown in his son's honour. This lasted for three days, and was evidently a fitting close to a scene of magnificence and splendour such as Venice never witnessed before or since.

In June of 1442, the following year, in spite of all these pageants and rejoicings, Foscari again tendered his resignation, which was, however, refused by the Senate. This offer was evidently very real on the Doge's part, as for three days he remained shut up in his rooms, refusing to alter his decision, but finally he was prevailed on to do so, and he consented against his will and his better judgment to remain at the head of affairs. Was it that he felt his strength and his powers unequal for the post, or was it that the gloom of "coming events cast their shadows" too prophetically over a future fraught with such woe and misery to his house? We cannot say. We only know that Foscari remained to meet the fate from which he had tried in vain to escape, and which was to embitter the remainder of his life and reign.

Before enlarging on these domestic troubles, we may note that on the 1st of January, 1443, Pope Eugenius preached a crusade, and called upon Venice to furnish a contingent of war to help the good cause, and the call was promptly obeyed.

This same year brought with it a serious loss to the Venetians in the death of their general, Gattamelata, who died at Padua,

where he was buried, and where the magnificent equestrian statue erected to his memory proclaims his fame to all ages.[1]

The following year Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, died. He had served during several years as General of the Republic, but had been gained over by the Duke of Milan to espouse his cause, and for some time had proved a strong and active foe to Venice.

It is time, however, to return to Foscari, for from this period date the troubles which began to overshadow his history, and which were fated to have so tragic an ending. On the 17th of February, 1445, an accusation against Jacopo Foscari was laid before the Council of Ten. In it he was said to have accepted gifts of jewels and money, and these not only from his fellow-citizens, but what made the offence more heinous still, from the Duke of Milan, his country's bitterest enemy. The charge was a grave one, for there was extant in Venice a decree which forbade both to the Doge and to every member of his family the acceptance of gifts, be they of what sort they would, from anyone.[2] This law, of a most binding nature, was renewed by every Doge in his "Promissione," and to it Foscari had subscribed in his turn. This law Jacopo was accused of violating, and the Council of Ten summoned him to appear before them and answer the charge laid at his door. The heads of the Council at that moment were Francesco Loredano, Giovanni Memo, and Ermolao Donato, and, as was usual in cases of grave importance, a giunta, or addition of ten members, was added to the Council, and a command of absolute secrecy and silence enjoined on the

[1] It is by Donatello, and only second in renown to the one to Colleoni by Verrocchio at Venice.

[2] "Erano severissime, e a ragione, le leggi che proibivano al doge e a qualunque individuo della sua famiglia l' accettar doni da chicchessia e sotto qual si fosse pretesto."—Romanin, tom. iv., lib. x., cap. x.

proceedings. That Jacopo had some suspicion of his danger is evident from the fact that on the following day he was not to be found. A limited time was assigned him in which to appear before the Council, but Jacopo not presenting himself within that time, the Doge was appealed to in order to summon his son and to induce him to appear for trial and submit to the investigations of justice. Foscari himself was not allowed to sit in the Council, or to attend the deliberations as to his son's verdict, there being a law which forbade the presence of the Doge when affairs relating to him or his relations were under discussion by the Council.[1] That this law existed, and was observed not only now, but, as we shall see, on subsequent occasions as well, is sufficient proof that Jacopo did not receive the sentence of exile from the mouth of his own father, as some writers have romantically declared. The Council of Ten, independently of the Doge, passed sentence on Jacopo, and to that sentence he had to bow.

Throughout in this trial we are struck by the justice and integrity of the laws of Venice. Her Republic, as Berlan points out, "was an aristocratic one, but in all honour to the truth be it said, that here, more than in any other country, the aristocracy were subjected, equally with the other citizens, to the observance of the law. They had to kneel to the decrees of state in the same way that the image of the Doge kneels before the lion holding in his paw the open book of the Gospel."[2]

[1] "In the presence of the same Sir Duke neither shall be treated, neither shall be spoken, neither shall be discussed things relating to him or to his sons, nor shall it be possible to treat of things concerning the relations of the said Duke." (In ipsius Domini Ducis præsentia, de rebus ad ipsum, vel ad filios suos tangentibus, non tractetur, loquatur, vel consulatur, sicut non potest quando tractatur de rebus tangentibus ad attinentes Domini Ducis.)

[2] "I due Foscari, memorie storico-critiche con Documenti Inediti, tratti dagli archivi secreti del Consiglio dei Dieci, dei Pregadi e del Maggior Consiglio, di Francesco Berlan. Torino, 1852.

Proofs of Jacopo's guilt were not wanting, and sentence was passed condemning him to perpetual exile at Nauplia, in Roumania. Here he was to spend the remainder of his life; he was not allowed more than three servants, and every day he was to present himself to the Governor of the town. Should he ever disobey these decrees, and fall into the hands of the law, then all hope of mercy was at an end; he was to be taken to the place of execution between the two columns, and his head severed from his body that he die, while his accuser should receive a reward of 1,000 ducats, to be paid from his (Jacopo's) goods, should such a sum be forthcoming, if not, the money should be provided by the state.[1] Penalties were also passed upon Jacopo's servants who had in any way connived at his guilt, and who assisted him in his flight to Trieste, where he was still in hiding. The sentence having passed the Council of Ten, was then read before the Great Council, and like all state documents was headed: "Nos Franciscus Foscari;" and these words, which were in reality but a form implying "in the name of the law," have given rise to the mistaken idea that Foscari himself sat in judgment and passed sentence upon his son. On the contrary, the Doge, in his capacity of prince and father, was applied to by the Council to persuade his son to give up his ill-gotten presents and conform to his verdict, in which case the Ten consented to draw a veil over some past offences committed by Jacopo, and for which he might still be held responsible. We read that the Dogaressa petitioned for leave to go to Trieste to see her son, but this was refused, and as Jacopo declined to deliver up his goods, the Senate ordered Marco Trevisano to proceed to Trieste and execute their decree, which bore date April 7th, 1445. At the same time Jacopo's possessions were confiscated, and all intercession on his behalf forbidden.

[1] Sanudo, Dolfin MSS., Marciana, Codice DCCXCIV., classe vii., Ital.

The harshness of which the Council of Ten has been accused was not so rigorous as has been represented. For four[1] months Jacopo remained at Trieste; and when at the end of that time he was taken ill there, some of the members of the Ten[2] pleaded for him, and arguing, from the fact of his illness and of Trevisano's death,[3] that the place was unhealthy, a decree was passed that the reasons of Jacopo Foscari's health be considered, which are such as to prevent his going to the place of banishment, and that instead of Nauplia he should remove to Treviso, with leave to go into the country around, provided always that he should not overstep the boundary. Thither he accordingly went, no additional rigour being exercised in regard of his treatment, although a case, containing a quantity of ducats and other things, was found in his possession, the gifts, according to Simonetta,[4] of Conte Francesco Sforza.

On the 13th September, 1447, to quote Romanin, "Foscari presented a most moving supplication to the Council, reminding them of his most unhappy old age, tormented by the thought of not being able to do all he would and might do for the good of the Republic, aggravated too by insupportable troubles, but chiefly in finding himself deprived of the only son left to him in this world." He urged how he had never spared himself in serving the state, as all in the Council knew well, and implored

[1] Romanin says five.

[2] These were Antonio Diedo, Andrea Zuliani, Antonio da Pesaro, Marin Zane, Nicolò Bernardo, and Martin Soranzo.—Cod. *sopra cit.*—Romanin.

[3] Trevisano had fallen ill and died soon after his arrival at Trieste.

[4] Angelo Simonetta, Sforza's secretary, had been employed by him in Venice for divers money transactions, but the Senate finding he was also employed by Sforza in negotiations not altogether honourable in regard of state affairs, caused him to be arrested and sent to Candia. His exile was short, as in 1449 we find him in the capacity of mediator between Sforza and the Republic.

finally "that leave to return to his country should be granted to his most unfortunate son."[1] At this point an old chronicle[2] tells how he was so interrupted by his sighs and tears he could no longer continue his speech, but entreated the Council to excuse him and allow him to go home. The demand was laid before the Council of Ten, who with the Giunta considered the appeal, and replied that, "considering the present need and the necessity of having a prince whose head shall be free and quiet, and able to serve the Republic well, from which he might be prevented knowing his son was ill in mind and body; considering besides the humane traditions (consueta umanità) of this government, and the merits of him the Doge," permission should be given to Jacopo to return to Venice.[3] Berlan, speaking of the way the Council of Ten gave their consent, says it was done in a merciful way, and with all dignity" (in un pietoso modo e pieno di dignità), and not as romance and fiction have described it, as extorted from wild beasts.[4] The reasons given by the Ten speak and tell their own tale; they show how Venice puts her own needs before the griefs of any private individuals. Foscari was to be free from anxiety as to his son, so as to attend better to the affairs of state, and those who know how that the secret of all Venetian policy lay in relentlessly forwarding her own exclusive interests, will see at a glance the cause of Jacopo's restoration to liberty. "Venice was not brutal, only cold;"[5] and the follower of her history will observe how all personal action or feeling had to give way before the interest and the consideration of what was judged best either for her security or aggrandizement. We meet

[1] Romanin, *cit. sopra.*
[2] Dolfin Codice.
[3] Romanin, tom. iv., lib. x., cap. x.
[4] I due Foscari, Fr. Berlan.
[5] Horatio Brown, Venetian Studies.

with it again and again in the lives of her greatest men, and see how willingly they bowed their heads for a stepping-stone that Venice might use and then fling aside. The sacrifice was constantly demanded, and the victims were rarely found wanting.

During all this time the disputes between Venice and Milan had gone on in wearisome continuity. Filippo's efforts to retain his son-in-law, Sforza, as his general, and the struggles made by Venice to secure him to their cause, form a monotonous theme in the negotiations so often existing between the two states. We read how at one moment Pope Eugenius IV. had "scomunicò a suono di campane e fuoco e acqua il Conte Francesco Sforza" when in the service of the Venetians, who, it appears, were much displeased at this sentence.[1] To get rid of this excommunication Sforza had attempted to go to Rome, but being unable to do so, he devised a banner on which was inscribed: "Viva la Chiesa, e muoia il mal consiglio, e viva Papa Eugenio." But even this failed to soften the Pope's anger and resentment, and Sanudo tells us that Eugenius would not receive him.

The ceaseless wars between Venice and Milan were stopped for a while by the death of Duke Filippo on the 13th of August, 1447. He was the last of the house of Visconti, and had ever been a relentless foe to Venice. The accounts given of him represent him under an aspect far from attractive. Possessed by a haunting dread of death and of assassination, he lived in constant suspicion of all who approached him, and seldom showed himself in public. To quote an old chronicle, he was "of a great mind and most astute; liberal in giving, and ready to forgive; an enemy to sloth; eager to rule. When at peace he sought for war, and when at war he desired peace. He knew

[1] Dolfin MSS., alla Marciana.

well how to assume and deceive." Speaking of his fear of death and of infection, the same writer adds that he ordered all who were ill with the plague to be removed from the town of Milan and their houses to be burnt, for which God for many years afflicted the people of Milan with pestilence.[1]

At the time of Filippo's death, Bartolommeo Colleoni, who had been his general, was in imprisonment at Monza. Profiting by the occasion of the Duke's death he contrived to escape, and transferred his services to the Venetian Republic. This year, too, saw the death of Eugenius IV., and the election to the Popedom of Nicolas V. (Tommaso Sarzana).

1450.

Returning to the more personal history of the Foscari, we find that from the time when Jacopo had been allowed to return in freedom to Venice, three years had elapsed, and from the silence which covers those years we may conclude that he had lived in sufficient retirement and seclusion to allay the suspicions of former times. As Romanin says: "Historians and chroniclers are alike silent over Jacopo's actions during that time; and it is only when new misfortunes arise that his name is again brought into prominence. A terrible destiny seemed to hang over the house of Foscari, and that prince, the glory of whose name resounded throughout the whole of Europe, was destined in his own house to lead a life of bitterness."[2] And so, indeed, it proved.

On the evening of the 5th of November, 1450, a murder was committed. The victim was Ermolao (or, in Venetian, Almoro)

[1] Marciana Cod. DCCLXXXVIII., classe vii., Ital. See, too, Venetian Studies, by Horatio Brown, p. 156, and Sismondi's Histoire des Républiques Italiennes, tom. v., chap. iii., p. 89.

[2] Romanin, lib. x., cap. x.

Donato, who, as the reader may remember, was one of the heads of the Council of Ten when Jacopo Foscari had been exiled in 1444. He was assassinated while returning to his house at Sta. Maria Formosa, on leaving the Ducal Palace, where he had been attending the Council of the Pregadi.[1] The day following the usual "Giunta" was added to the Council of Ten, and inquiries and investigations were immediately instituted. Suspicions fell in turn on different people,[2] but no light seemed forthcoming in spite of the offer of a reward of 10,000 lire to whoever should denounce the murderer, and 25,000 lire should the denunciation lead to his apprehension. Large favours, too, were held out to whoever should betray the offender, and bribes were even offered to any who might have assisted in the crime, provided always they were not the actual delinquent. Till the following January no discovery was made, but early in that month a denunciation was made to the Council of Ten. The name of the accused was uttered, but under the seal of such intense secrecy that whoever should breathe it outside the Council should incur the penalty of being put to death in prison. Jacopo Foscari was that name; and a decree was accordingly passed authorizing his arrest. One of the reasons for this arrest was as follows: The morning after Donato's murder a servant of Jacopo, Oliviero by name, had been met at Mestre by Benedetto Gritti, one of the "avvogadore di comune." This latter inquired of Oliviero, who was employed in loading wood on a barge, the latest news from Venice, and was told of the murder of Donato, committed only the evening before.

[1] Donato lived for two days after he was wounded, and died on the 7th of November, expressing his desire to pardon his unknown murderer.

[2] The first of these was Luchino Zen, after him Nicolò Mudazio, and then Matteo Vitturi, the King of Aragon's ambassador, but the innocence of each had led in turn to their release.

FOSCARI'S PALACE ON THE GRAND CANAL.

UNIV. OF

This story found its way to the ears of the Ten, and was judged of sufficient importance to form the ground for an accusation. How could Oliviero have known of the murder, said they, unless he had himself been implicated in it? It was also brought forward that he had been seen the night before, at the hour when the Pregadi broke up, haunting the precincts of the Ducal Palace; so how came it that he should find himself at such an early hour at Mestre for no more ostensible reason than that of loading wood on to a boat? It was urged that he must have fled from Venice after committing the murder, and on this plea he was arrested and brought back to the town. We must conclude that there is some element of truth in all these statements, but at the same time there is a discrepancy in the dates of these events which casts suspicion on the story relating to Oliviero. The assassination, as we know, took place in November, 1450, and the following morning, it was said, Oliviero was at Mestre loading wood, and telling the news of the night before to Gritti; his arrest took place in January, 1451, so how can we account for the interval of these two months in which no steps were taken for arresting him, and during which time he, had he had occasion for flight, would surely have availed himself of such an interval, and not have waited, as it were, the good pleasure of the Council of Ten to arrest him? What object, too, was to be gained by the Council in offering rewards and bribes for the apprehension of the murderer if all the time they had him in their grasp?

If we turn to Berlan, the case becomes clearer. From him we learn that the day following the murder the whole town was full of the news, and measures were taken by the state to discover the author of it. As in all important questions, the usual "Giunta" was added to the Council of Ten, and it was decided that for three days the rewards that should be given to

the denunciator of the crime should be publicly cried aloud in the town and in the country around, and a decree affixed to a column on the Rialto advertising the prize held out for discovering the perpetrator of the deed. All that month the Ten awaited accusations, and awaited in vain. On the 27th, however, a certain Luchino Zen was had up before them and examined. He was found innocent, and freed on the 9th of December, and further bribes and offers were held out in the hopes of arriving at the offender.

1451.

On the 2nd of January, 1451, more nobles were added to the Council, as, from one cause or another, the members of the "Giunta" were somewhat reduced in number. Among them were some of the noblest names in Venice, and it was before this tribunal that an accusation was brought against Jacopo Foscari, and an order drawn up by them authorizing his arrest. The most absolute silence was enjoined on all, and any hint outside the walls of the Council Chamber as to the name of the offender was to be punished by death in prison, or, as it is more emphatically stated in the Italian, "in carcere forti." Jacopo was accordingly imprisoned, and two guardians were appointed to be in constant attendance in his prison in the capacity of watchers, and a third was afterwards added. After an interval of several days, during which the heads of the Council and also some of the members had been changed, Oliviero was put to the torture, but no confession obtained from him. Jacopo himself had undergone the agony of being tortured more than once,[1] and even the warmest admirers of the Council of Ten can hardly defend the treatment that the unfortunate man endured at their

[1] The Dolfin MS. says he was tortured several days ("e piu zorni tormentato").

hands, while they endeavoured to wring from him a confession to which, in spite of all his sufferings, he never subscribed. At last, on the 26th of March, 1451, the sentence was proclaimed, and in it the Ten declare "that, from certain papers concerning him, as well as from other testimony, Jacopo Foscari is clearly proved guilty of the death of Ermolao Donato, but owing to the weakness of his body, and from several incantations and magic words that fell from him while under torture, as also from his obstinacy, it has been impossible to obtain from him an acknowledgment of his guilt." The Council, they added, would not consider the words uttered by Jacopo during the delirium of his agony,[1] being anxious to conclude the matter and to pass on to affairs appertaining to the state, and looking upon Jacopo's silence as a certain proof of his guilt, they condemn him to perpetual exile in the town of Canea, on the island of Candia, where every day he was to present himself before the Governor. Should he break through his confinement and escape, and fall into the hands of the Signory, he should be put to death, his goods and those of his children confiscated, and should anyone capture him alive they should receive a reward of 3,000 ducats, or dead, 1,500 ducats. This sentence might neither be revoked, altered, or delayed; no grace could be vouchsafed to the delinquent; whoever should dare to appeal now or afterwards to any other tribunal should pay a fine of 1,000 ducats and forfeit his right to a seat in the Great Council, and this sentence was irrevocable.[2] The same decree also stated that Jacopo was to receive no marks of consideration during his exile, but to be looked upon merely as a private citizen undergoing the sentence of justice.

[1] "Solo mormorando tra i denti sotto i tormenti della corda parole non intelligibile."—Misti xiv., p. 34.

[2] Romanin; Berlan.

The verdict on Oliviero, or as his surname proved to be, Sguri, was still stricter. He was condemned to perpetual exile from all Venetian territory, and should he ever be captured, he was to be put to death between the two columns, and a reward of 300 ducats given to his captor.

These resolutions having been determined on, the Doge, who had been forbidden, together with all related to his family, to attend the deliberations of the Great Council during Jacopo's trial, was informed of the judgment. The heads of the Great Council, who at that moment were Francesco Zorzi, Carlo Marin, and Paolo Barba, were despatched to apprise Foscari of the fate of his son, and we cannot help noticing the irony of the injunction with which they enjoined him to be of good patience ("et ad hortandam suam Serenita tem ad bonam patientiam") under the trial which they themselves laid upon him.

To carry the sentence into execution, three "signori of the night"[1] were appointed by the Council to betake themselves on the evening of the 29th of March to the Ducal Palace with their boats, where, in compliance with the orders of their chiefs, they were to take Jacopo Foscari at 3 o'clock in the morning and transport him to Luca Mantello's ship. The following is the order given to the commandant of the ship: "Francesco Foscari, by the grace of God, Doge of Venice. Luca. We send to your ship Jacopo Foscari our son, who will be consigned to your care by the noblemen our officials of the night; and withal we command that you shall guard and preserve well the said Jacopo, and deliver him to our government of Crete, together with the letters which we send you addressed to the same

[1] Signore or Uffiziale di notte "was," says Brown (Venetian Studies), "the picturesque name for the three heads of the police patrol in Venice." On this occasion they were: Marco Badoer, Francesco Lombardo, and Leonardo Molin.

government, trusting as we do in your discretion. And having the said Jacopo on board, we command in the name of the Council that you shall on no account disembark, but stand attentive and vigilant over him you have to guard, and you shall do your best to depart from here as speedily and securely as possible, and continue in good course your voyage to Crete. Given, etc., etc."

Jacopo's chief accuser had been Antonio Venier, a Venetian noble, and to him the Ten granted a pension of 200 ducats yearly, with leave to bequeath this sum at his death to his sons; he was also allowed the privilege to carry arms[1] and be attended by three servants; while, for whatever offence he might commit, neither the Doge, nor any of his near of kin, might be entitled to sit in judgment on him.

Before proceeding further we will for a moment consider the question as to the innocence or guilt of Jacopo Foscari, a question which still remains unanswered in spite of the disclosures which have come to light, but which have not as yet pierced the mystery which envelops the death of Donato. If we weigh the reasons which would absolve or condemn Jacopo from the crime imputed to him, we find the pros and cons very nearly balanced, and no definite conclusion arrived at. Thus we read, for instance, that after Donato's murder, Jacopo made no effort to escape from Venice, as he had done on the occasion of his first accusation; again, his accuser was not a person on whom much reliance could be placed, for we find him spoken of as "triste, disutile, vizioso,"[2] and his denunciation to the Council of Ten was ascribed solely to a desire of gain (golosità). A more forcible proof of his innocence is to be found in the fact

[1] This was a privilege only granted on certain occasions to some of the heads of the government.

[2] Cronaca Venier.—Sanudo, Vita di Fr. Foscari.

that a little while after Jacopo's condemnation, a certain Nicolò Erizzo confessed on his deathbed that he had assassinated Donato, having done so out of vengeance on Donato, who, in his capacity of avvogadore, had denounced him as a thief before the Forty. And, lastly, the Doge might well plead that in his son's trial many disorders had been allowed, several members being admitted to the Great Council who had no right to attend, while others who should have been present had been excluded; together with the fact that no clear evidence or proof of guilt was forthcoming in the condemnation of his son ("non v'era chiarezza alcuna nè confessione che lo dannasse").

Against all this we must also place the reasons which would point to Jacopo's guilt, and among them we find, according to Sanudo, that in spite of the immense numbers who were devoted to the Doge and to his family in Venice, the majority in the city believed Jacopo to be Donato's murderer; also, that the enmity between the houses of Foscari and Donato at that time was most bitter, and a well-known thing.[1] We have, too, the declaration of the Council of Ten (no slight matter when we consider that this Council, with the "Giunta," was composed of the noblest men in Venice), who in sentencing Jacopo to exile maintained that, from the proofs and writings brought against him, his guilt was clear. We also read that Da Lezze's suggestion of abandoning the trial because Venier's accusation was only urged from desire of gain, fell to the ground, no one having supported the motion, and the very next day the cause was continued; again, the supplication of the Doge, alleged by Corner, and declared by him to be worthy of all credence ("degnissima di fede"), is not enough to prove

[1] Berlan enlarges on the discord between the two families later on in his history, and more in connection with Foscari's deposition than with Jacopo's accusation. Much of the following account is from his history.

Jacopo's innocence. We must bear in mind that it was the father who pleaded, not the Doge, who was not even allowed to be present at the trial; added to which there is nothing to prove that this petition ever existed or that it was ever presented by the Doge either to the Great Council or to the Ten.[1] Also, the fact that Jacopo after being tortured did not own to the crime does not proclaim him guiltless of it, for what was he to gain by such a confession; and finally, no document exists to show that Erizzo on his deathbed owned himself the murderer. It is pure tradition. Had it been otherwise, Venier would have been held in the light of a calumniator, and his pension, at all events, been suspended, all of which never occurred.

And so for a while we leave this unfortunate family; the Doge having to bow his head to the decrees of a state over which, though nominally the head, he had in reality no power, while his son went as an exile to Candia, from whence he was eventually to return, only to add to his father's sorrow and to his own misery.

In the spring of 1452 war again broke out between Venice and Milan. The Venetians were under the command of Bartolommeo Colleoni, and they had for allies King Alfonso I. of Aragon, the Duke of Savoy, the community of Siena, the Marquis of Montferrat, and the lords of Correggio. The Milanese were commanded by Francesco Sforza, who two years previously (February, 1450) had succeeded in causing himself to be proclaimed Duke of Milan in right of his wife Bianca. The Florentines had espoused his cause, and in June of this year a vigorous decree was passed in Venice expelling every Florentine, lay and secular alike, from all Venetian territory, to be avenged

[1] "E più ancora perchè quella carta non si trova ne' libri di nessun tribunale nè vedesi mai presentata dal Doge nè al Gran Consiglio nè a' Dieci."—Berlan.

on them for the aid they had lent either in person or in money to the Duke of Milan.

We have a brilliant account in all the histories and chronicles of the day, of the reception given this year to Frederick III. of Germany, and his bride, Eleonora of Portugal. Frederick had been to Naples for his marriage, and had passed through Rome, where Pope Nicholas V. had crowned him Emperor. He was now returning to Germany, and stopped on his way at Venice, where he arrived by land. Why the Empress did not accompany him, we cannot say, but she came a few days later by sea, and was met at S. Nicolò del Lido by "Madonna la Dogaressa" on board the "Bucentaur," with a suite of 200 ladies decked in silks, jewels, and cloth of gold in profusion. The Empress was only fifteen, and must have been somewhat oppressed with all the ceremonies and functions she was called upon to partake in. A great reception was held in her honour in the Sala Nuova of the Ducal Palace, where besides herself and the Emperor there were also present the King of Hungary, the Emperor's nephew, the Duke of Austria, and others. The imperial guests remained twelve days in Venice, where they were entertained at the expense of the state; fifteen houses were set aside for their residence; most costly gifts were showered upon them; no mourning was allowed to be worn while they remained; fêtes of every kind were instituted, and Sanudo is evidently right when he says they were "well caressed" (bene accarrezzato). He also tells us that the Doge's daughter-in-law could not go on the "Bucentaur" to receive the Empress on account of the affair of her husband, and that the Doge for the same reason refused to go, though the Council of Ten had desired him to do so.

This year saw the fall of Constantinople. The Emperor John Paleologus had died in 1448, leaving no issue, and his throne was claimed by his two surviving brothers, Constantine and Demetrius. The question as to their rights of succession had

been referred to the Sultan Amurath, who decided in favour of Constantine. In 1451 Amurath died, and was succeeded by his son, Mahomet II. The new Sultan was well aware of the weak state in which Constantine found himself; he knew, too, the apathy evinced by the Christian rulers in regard of the Emperor's defenceless condition, and he judged the moment a fitting one in which to regain possession of Constantinople. He collected the whole of his forces, which amounted to three hundred thousand men, and over two hundred armed galleys, and hastened to besiege the town. To withstand so formidable a host Constantine could only muster an army of from nine to ten thousand men, but he made an earnest appeal to all Christendom, and especially to Venice, to assist him against the Turk. This appeal met with but feeble response, "owing," says Daru, "to the exhausted state in which all the Western powers found themselves at that moment from intestine wars."[1] Genoa and Venice, however, made an effort to help Constantine. To both of these states the overthrow of Constantinople was a question that seriously affected their commerce, and consequently imperilled their prosperity to no small extent. Their interest was greater than that of most other powers in preventing the destruction of a town with which they drove a flourishing trade, and to whose preservation they should have devoted the whole of their energies.

But for Venice this was impossible. Her wars on the mainland, though successful for the most part, had exhausted her finances and drained her supplies, so that she was incapable of providing either troops or galleys for the defence of a city on which so much of her own well-being depended. She could only furnish five galleys, which were sent under the command of Jacopo Loredano to the aid of the Greek Emperor; but owing to one delay after another, the ships only reached Constantinople

[1] Daru, Histoire de Venise, vol. ii., livre xvi.

after that city was already in "the hands of the leaguering infidel." Genoa's contingent, though small, was more effective. She sent two large ships of war under Giovanni Giustinian, and this force arrived in time to assist the noble effort Constantine was still making to preserve his kingdom and his city. But all was in vain. The power of the Turks was irresistible and their resources inexhaustible, and Constantine with his handful of followers could do nothing against such odds. All was lost. Constantine himself was slain fighting gallantly to the end, and after a siege of fifty-two days Constantinople fell. The news spread consternation through all Christendom,[1] and was received with dismay at Venice. This consternation did not, however, blind her as to the wisest course to pursue in regard of her own policy; and with a sagacity which characterized all her actions, and which led her to place her interests before all other considerations, she determined to make friends with Mahomet without delay, and for this purpose Bartolommeo Marcello was sent as her representative to suggest terms to the new monarch, and secure conditions by which to carry on her intercourse and commerce with the East without let or hindrance.[2] This was brought about in April, 1454, when it was arranged that an agent (Bailo) should be sent by the Signory to watch over the affairs and interests of all Venetians trading at Constantinople; and the first who was appointed to this post was Marcello himself.[3]

[1] "Fu pessima nuova a tutta la Cristianità."—Sanudo.

[2] Sismondi, Rép. It., tom. v., ch. vii. Speaking of this alliance, Perrens says: "Venise . . . s'engage avec Mahomet II., en vertu de cet adage des lagunes: Siamo Veneziani, poi Cristiani."—Histoire de Florence, depuis la domination des Médicis jusqu'à la chute de la République (1434-1531). F. T. Perrens, Paris, 1888, t. i., ch. iv., p. 164.

[3] Marcello did not acquit himself well as Bailo. A few years later we find him condemned by the Council of Pregadi for neglect of his duty and for dealings with the Turk "dishonourable alike to God and the Republic,"

Two years after this, 1456, on the 8th of January, S. Lorenzo Giustinian died, and the Doge, with all the clergy, was present at his funeral. He had been Bishop of Castello, and was the first Patriarch of Venice.[1]

This same year brings us again face to face with the family troubles which still hung over the Foscari, and which were now tending to their climax. Six years had elapsed since Jacopo had been banished to Candia, and he was once more to return to Venice; though the accounts as to his coming back, and the reasons for which he came, are many and varied, and most of them far from what we believe to be the truth. Some accounts say that Jacopo addressed a letter to the Duke of Milan, beseeching him to plead on his behalf to the Council of Ten, and to entreat that they would allow him to return to Venice. A letter containing such a request was a well-known crime, it being a state offence for any Venetian subject to appeal to a foreign potentate; and that this potentate was the Duke of Milan, the most bitter foe of Venice, would but make Jacopo's guilt doubly heinous. This letter was left open, and its object accomplished by being found and carried before the Council of Ten. Jacopo was recalled to Venice, and, under torture, confessed to having written the letter for the sole purpose of being recalled, so as to find himself once again in his native land, and see his parents and wife and children once more. They go on to say how this request was granted, and he was allowed to see his family—some say, in the

for which he had to pay a large fine and was placed under close restraint (Dolfin Cronaca).

[1] The seat of the patriarchate had been formerly at Grado, where it had flourished for nearly nine centuries; but on the death of the Patriarch Domenico Michiel, in 1451, Pope Nicholas V. united the patriarchate of Grado to the Venetian bishopric of Castello, and merged it all into the patriarchate of Venice, of which Don Lorenzo Giustinian was the first patriarch.

prisons of the Torricella;[1] others, in the Doge's rooms—after which, ill and suffering as he was from all he had undergone on the rack, he was sent back to Candia, where, after a short time, he died. The arguments that disprove the likelihood of this story are strong. In the first place, the dates and assertions of the different chronicles are more than ever confused and incorrect on this point. Secondly, the plan devised by Jacopo was as likely as not to fail in its purpose, as there was no need and less certainty that he would be summoned to Venice for trial, as it was not probable that the Ten would call upon him to answer inquiries as to a letter which had never reached its destination. Thirdly, an offence of so grave a nature could not but prove a convincing argument in the hands of his enemies, and enable them to work his complete ruin. Fourthly, it was quite an open question, coming as he did to Venice as a criminal, whether he would be allowed to see his family, for under such circumstances special leave had to be obtained from the Council of Ten. Lastly, if his letter had in reality such a touching and natural object, surely he would not have waited till he was torn in pieces by the rack to reveal its aim and object. The Ten always granted a safe conduct to exiles, should they demand one for the purpose of revealing any secret affecting the state, and we cannot see why Jacopo did not adopt this simpler method, and avail himself of this means to reach Venice, when he might have unfolded his scheme, and probably avoided some of the sufferings which his presence in Venice could not but entail on himself, and on his whole family. The assertion, too, of his

[1] In olden days that part of the Ducal Palace which extended from the water entrance to St. Mark was flanked with towers, and from this the prison, which was underneath this part, was called Torricella, or "little Tower." The prison itself was on the top floor of the palace, and was reserved for persons of distinction. See Romanin, t. iv., cap. ii., p. 39.

having undergone torture is improbable. There was no need for him to conceal his object in coming to Venice; on the contrary, it was part of his plan that it should be known.

The real facts seem to have been as follows:—Early in June, 1456, a certain Luigi Bocchetta, also called Ballottino, arrived unexpectedly in Venice, bringing with him some papers and letters from the Governor of Candia relating to Jacopo Foscari. The Council of Ten, to whom these papers were consigned, pronounced them to contain matters of such importance that a "Giunta" of no less than twenty extra members was demanded. The strictest secrecy was imposed on them, and they were, at the same time, insured against all danger that the vengeance of the Foscari might entail on them, so that no restraint should prevent free and fair discussion of the subject. Among these papers matters were found of a nature to create "fresh scandal and disorder"[1] relating to the Duke of Milan; and there were also some letters written in cypher, which, naturally enough, hinted of affairs of consequence. Important matter of a still more serious nature was found, as will be seen from the following letter written by the Council of Ten, and sent by them to Giovanni Trevisano, the Governor of Candia, and which will serve to show how dishonourably Jacopo acted in order to try and obtain his liberty. "We have," say they, on the 4th instant, "received by the hands of Luigi Bocchetta, called also Ballottino, your letters, and the suit drawn up by you from the declarations of Giovanni Rosso, . . . and from the interrogations made to the said Bocchetta, together with the copy of the original letters he has had from Jacopo Foscari. The next day we received through your messenger, Giovanni Mussi, your other letters treating of the same affair, with the authentic letters in Jacopo's own hand, and with the papers written in cypher. We

[1] "Nuovi scandali e disordini."—Misti xv., 8 Giugno, p. 96.

applaud what you have done, and the way in which you have informed us of all; and among other things we have noticed how in the past month certain Genoese, escaped from shipwreck, have stayed in the house of Ser Jacopo Giustiniani (a Genoese living in Candia), and that among them was one Giambattista of Genoa. With him Ser Jacopo Foscari has contracted a great friendship, talking to him every day and recounting much to him of his own affairs. Among other things he has asked him to deliver some letters he was writing to the Turkish Emperor (Imperatore de' Turchi), to beg him to send his galley and take him away from Candia, hoping in this way to escape the pains and privations of exile. All this must be well known to the said Jacopo Giustiniani, since it was all discussed in his house. We have also been informed that this Giambattista did have those letters of Jacopo Foscari, to whom he made promise that they should reach their destination, and that he would procure for him an answer. We desire, therefore, that you should summon to your presence the said Ser Jacopo Genoese, and that on his oath he shall reveal all he knows on such matters, and he shall also say if Jacopo Foscari has had any answer either from the Turk or from the said Giambattista, together with all he knows relating to what young Foscari has said or done in order to break through his confinement. You will then send the declarations of him, Ser Jacopo Giustiniani, to our Council of Ten, with your letters, well sealed. You will also consign Jacopo Foscari to the bearer of this despatch, with his servant George, and all those who have been in his service since last January until now; but first you will cause diligent search to be made in his house. All you find of papers and writings belonging to him you will cause to be delivered to the above-mentioned Council, etc., etc."[1]

[1] Berlan; Romanin.

Besides Jacopo's correspondence with the Duke of Milan, we see, from the above-mentioned letter, that he had also written to the Emperor of Constantinople; and that in this instance the letter was meant to reach its destination is evident from the fact that he was on the look out for an answer. No mention of this circumstance is recorded by Jacopo's historians, who in their zeal for their hero gloss over the faults which could not fail to condemn him, and only allude to his correspondence with the Duke of Milan, whereas the charges against Jacopo in this his third trial were, in reality, three in number: the first, the letters written to the Duke of Milan; secondly, those to the Turkish Emperor; and lastly, those written in cypher, and consequently unintelligible to the Ten.

The Council for the trial was appointed on the 4th of July, and was composed of Zaccaria Valaresso, councillor; Marco Corner, head; Zaccaria Trevisano, avvogadore, and others. The first idea propounded was to convey a sharp admonition to Jacopo and enjoin on him greater discretion, and at the same time to send two keepers who should keep a strict watch over him day and night, and report his every word and deed. This notion, however, was not carried out, and instead of it Lorenzo Loredano was sent in a galley to Candia to bring Jacopo Foscari back to Venice. The instructions Loredano received as to his journey were most minute. He was to put in nowhere on his voyage to Canea "except for *necessity*," and arrived there, no letters were to be distributed, and no one allowed to land. On leaving S. Nicolò del Lido, all on board were to give up their letters to Loredano, who was to hold them in safe keeping till his return to Venice, when they were to be handed over to the Council of Ten. Arrived at Canea (a seaport town on the island of Candia), the ship was not to enter the harbour, but lie outside the port to prevent anyone from disembarking. Loredano

was then to go to the Governor bearing the ducal commission, and demand that Jacopo Foscari, his servants, and all his papers should be delivered into his hands. This done, he was to set sail at once, and take good heed that on the voyage Jacopo should speak to no one, nor land at any port. He was to be well guarded, and his food brought to him by some trusted person. On their return and arrival in port, Loredano was to despatch the keeper of the papers to the heads of the Ten, and to forbid anyone to land or to accost the galley.

Jacopo reached Venice on the 21st of July, and without a hint of torture or any such terrors he freely confessed[1] his guilt. On the 23rd his sentence was under discussion; and on the 24th it was pronounced. At first some division arose as to the verdict, some urging he should be sent back to Canea after an exhortation to better behaviour, and as Valaressa suggested, with a year's imprisonment as well; Marco Corner pleaded that he should simply be sent back; while Jacopo Loredano (at the moment head of the Council) argued that "from the gravity and importance of the letters and papers in relation to the honour and safety of the state, he should undergo death by beheading between the two columns."[2] As was customary, each proposal was put to the vote; when Loredano's motion obtained seven votes, Corner's only two; while that of sending him back to Candia with imprisonment for a year was carried by twenty-two votes; and to this was added an admonition that should he again write to any foreign powers he should end his life in prison.

[1] "Non trovandosi cenno di tortura inflittagli, pare ch' egli confessasse il tutto spontaneamente." So at least says Romanin; but the assertions and contradictions as to whether Jacopo underwent torture or no are numerous, and the truth most difficult to discover; and he does not hint at subsequent torture, but leaves Dolfin to speak, and decidedly, of torture undergone.

[2] Misti xv., pp. 100, 101.

At the same time, though, he was allowed to see his parents,[1] his wife and children, who visited him in the prison of Torricella. The assertion that he had not undergone torture does not certainly tally with the account given in the Dolfin Cronaca.[2] The writer of this was Giorgio (or, as he calls himself in the soft Venetian dialect, Zorzo) Dolfin, who, as present at the scene, and a relation of Foscari, is surely worthy of our credence. We will translate his own words, remembering they are those of an eyewitness: "Leave was afterwards granted to his mother, his wife and children, to go and see him in Torricella, where they found him mutilated by thirty strokes of the lash that he had received in those days. He was then removed to the room delle osele (*sic*) del cavallier,[3] where Messer the Doge his father went to see him, with so resolute a voice, and so firm an aspect, it seemed as though he were not his son. And although he saw him so disfigured and tortured, and unshaven, yet was he not overcome. The son said: 'Father, I entreat you to obtain leave for me to go to my own home.' And Messer the Doge: 'Jacomo, go and obey in what your country demands, and seek no more.' And having taken leave of his father, he was taken in a galley and conveyed to Canea. Messer the Doge his father remained in the room after his son had gone, and in his grief threw himself into a chair, fainting, and exclaiming in tears, 'O pietà grande.'"

The tradition, for it is nothing more, that Loredano was all-

[1] Berlan thinks not, and that the Doge did not visit his son either in the prison of Torricella or elsewhere, and says no mention is made of the "room of the cavallier of the Doge," but this is clearly put in the Dolfin Cronaca, which, however, Berlan never saw. (So at least Conte Camillo Soranzo, Bibliotecario at the Marciana, told me, on showing me this Cronaca.)

[2] Romanin quotes the Dolfin Cronaca for the whole of this scene.

[3] "Osele" or "oselle" was a Venetian money, and it is possible that one of the rooms in the Ducal Palace may have been so called from this coin being kept here.

powerful in the Council of Ten and used his influence for the accomplishment of his own ends, fades before the fact of his suggestion finding only seven supporters, though his plea for Jacopo Foscari's death was the result, there can be little doubt, of personal hatred and rancour.

To Matteo Lion was entrusted the charge of taking Jacopo back to Canea, and he was ordered to sail from S. Nicolò on the 31st of July. As soon as he had started, bearing the unfortunate Jacopo back to his captivity, we find the Doge striving on his son's behalf, and so successfully that, with the help of Vettor Cappello, Orsato Giustinian, Paolo Barbo, and others, pardon was granted him. But this came too late, for on the 12th of January, 1457, Jacopo had passed beyond the voice of earthly tribunals to where no pardon of mortal man could avail him, and where no human verdict could serve to proclaim his guilt or his innocence. How those few remaining months of his life were passed, no trace has come down to us, the bare fact of his death only is recorded, and our imagination is left to fill up the interval of those dreary months of exile and prison as seems to us best. The question as to Jacopo's guilt or innocence seems to us still an open one, and when we read such names as Giustinian, Corner, Pisani, Loredan, Venier, Zen, Dandolo, Contarini, Soranzo, Morosini, Tron, and others, and know that they were among those who formed the Council of Ten and the "Giunta," we cannot believe that they were all either mistaken or prejudiced to the extent of condemning Jacopo Foscari for the crimes imputed to him, had they not been fully convinced of his guilt. Though some of the romance that surrounds his name and story may have been destroyed in the preceding pages, and some of our pity for him lessened, it will but enlist our sympathies more keenly on behalf of his father, who, if Jacopo were indeed guilty, must have had the extra pang of

knowing his only son a rebel to the laws of his country, and deserving of his fate. There is much to show that Jacopo was a loving and lovable character in many ways, besides being "literate, a Greek scholar, and a collector of Latin and Greek manuscripts."[1] And though the histories of the time may prove him to have many virtues both as a son and as a citizen, of what avail was it, if with all these gifts, he failed in consideration to his father, to whom he owed the double duty of a son and a subject, and to whose old age he might well have proved an abiding pride and comfort instead of causing him griefs and humiliations more bitter than death itself?

That the Council of Ten looked upon Jacopo as guilty there cannot be a shadow of doubt, and that this was so is clear from the fact that his accuser, Bocchetta, was rewarded by the Council "for merit and good works, and for an example to others should they too have to reveal and make manifest things important to our state."[2]

[1] "Era litterato, grecista, e raccogliatore di manoscritti greci e latini."—Marco Foscarini, Della litteratura veneziana, lib. i., p. 69.

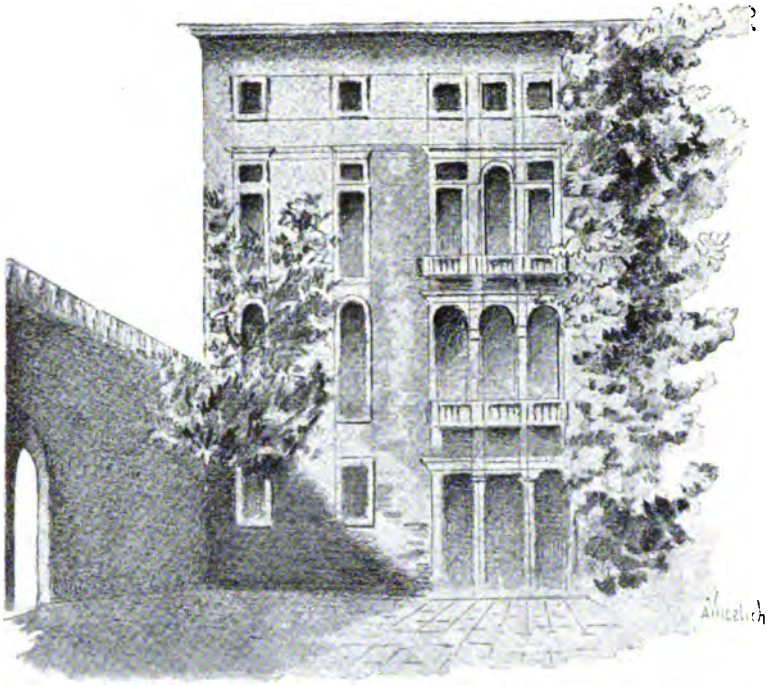
[2] "Pro meritis et bonis operibus, et pro bono exemplo aliorum, ut habeant causam revelandi et manifestandi de rebus importantibus ad statum nostrum."

CHAPTER V.

1456—1457.

THE story of Foscari's life, which has been unrolling itself like a solemn tragedy before our eyes, was now to reach its consummation in the forced abdication of the Doge. He was eighty-four years of age, and after all the anxieties involved in a reign of thirty-four years, and the sorrows and trials through which his private life had been passed, we cannot wonder when we read that he no longer attended the meetings of the Senate and of the Ten. It may be, as Berlan suggests, that in the solitude of his own apartments he mourned his dead son and the glory of his own past, carned by incessant labours, and over which an abiding gloom was now for ever cast. He lived in a state of sadness, aggravated by misfortune, and so indifferent to public matters that when, in this year, the Emperor Frederick III. came to Venice, the Doge declined to go and meet him on account of his great age, and an injunction from the Council not being sufficient, they issued a command to him to go, which he had to obey.[1] Such conduct was not satisfactory to the Council of

[1] We see in the case of Doge Cristoforo Moro how Venice's so-called rulers were subject to the orders of the Council. The Doge had excused



COURTYARD OF CÀ FOSCARI.

UNIV. OF MICH.

Ten, and the reasons which ten years ago had prompted them to grant Jacopo Foscari's release from captivity were now alleged for the deposition of his father. The good of the state had then required that Jacopo should be set at liberty so that his father's mind should be free from domestic cares, and consequently better able to attend to public matters, and now the good of the state was again brought forward as requiring a governor who should make this his one object, instead of a heart-broken old man whose brooding over an irrecoverable sorrow was not to be tolerated. Out of consideration, therefore, for the state it was decided that Foscari was incapable of remaining in his position as Doge, and his deposition was agreed on. All historians, however, are unanimous in saying that private quarrels and jealousies had much to do with this decree, and we will now turn to trace the story of the enmity and malevolence which bore so prominent a part in this last scene of Foscari's public life, and of which the origin is ascribed to the powerful family of the Loredano, though doubtless time and romance have done much to magnify both the intensity and the evil consequence of this hatred.

The discord between the two families has been said to date from the moment of Foscari's election as Doge, when his closest competitor was Pietro Loredano, who it was said had never forgiven Foscari for having supplanted him, and for the way in which he had managed to do so. Pietro was the head of the family; he was brave and valiant, and ranked among the first naval commanders of Venice; he was also beloved by the people,

himself on the plea of old age from taking part in a crusade, when Vittore Cappello, one of the members, hurled (gettato) the command to him to go in the following words: "If your Serene Highness will not go willingly, you shall go by force; for the good and honour of this land is dearer to us than your person."

over whom his influence was immense, and by whom he was looked up to with every mark of respect and affection. His eloquence was great, and said to fall little short of that of the Doge himself, and the fact that in debate his opinions and views were the only ones that ever prevailed over those of Foscari did not help to cement matters between them. It is evident that the Doge made some attempt to heal over the breach, whether from a real desire for peace, or merely from motives of policy in wishing to secure so powerful an ally as Loredano to his side, we cannot say; but, in any case, he suggested a marriage between one of his daughters and Loredano's second son. The proposal was declined, and its refusal only added to the existing bitterness. A remark also made by the Doge in a moment of rage, in which he was overheard saying that he should not consider himself a prince as long as Loredano was alive, was converted into a wish for Pietro's death, and has been sufficient to stain the reputation of a man who, with all his faults, was incapable of taking his enemy's life by so foul a means as poison. This crime has, however, been laid at Foscari's door by Italian and Venetian historians (see Berlan), who have accused him of having compassed not only Pietro's death, but also that of his brother Marco Loredano, by poison. The story is as follows: In 1438, the Senate, by the advice of their general Gattamelata, had determined to send a convoy of ships to the Po, to assist their armies in Lombardy against the Duke of Milan, and to check the enemy from invading their territory. The need of an experienced general to command this force was felt on all sides, and everything pointed to Loredano as the man for the post. He had shortly before returned from a successful expedition against the Milanese, and on his return to Venice had been greeted with exuberant demonstrations of pomp and rejoicing. Though well advanced in years and anxious for rest, he yielded

to the entreaties of his countrymen, in which the Doge is said to have joined, and accepted the command. In the meantime the news of the taking of Brescia had reached Venice, and the public joy was so great that the populace, in the frenzy of the moment, oblivious of order and decorum, broke out into rioting and madness. They were on the point of destroying all that came in their way, and heeded neither law nor discipline. Marin Amigo, captain of the "Signori di notte," and Contarini, one of the "Savii dell' Armar," had been slain in attempting to curb the violence of the mob, who were about to break open the prisons and force the mint, when Pietro Loredano appeared on the scene and by his eloquence and influence succeeded in calming the multitude, and in preventing the destruction that at one moment threatened to overwhelm most of the city. Shortly after Loredano proceeded to his appointment as commander of the Venetian fleet, where, in spite of the bad condition in which he found matters,[1] he was able to recover most of the possessions which Gonzaga, who was now in command of the Duke of Milan's armies, had wrested from the Republic. A truce of fifteen days offered by Gonzaga was accepted by Loredano, who to celebrate it gave a banquet to the principal officers engaged. Directly after the feast Pietro was seized with so sharp and sudden an illness that, feeling his last hour was come, he determined to return at once to Venice, where sixteen days after his arrival he died, on the 11th of November, 1438. He was buried at Sant' Elena, and the accusation of poison recorded on his tomb, "per insidias hostium veneno sublatus," obtained a certain amount of credence. Not with all, however. The Dolfin Codice, for instance, makes no hint of such an end, but simply relates that "on the 26th of October, 1438, Messer Pietro Loredano

[1] "Giunto in Po e ritrovato le navi in disordine e poco men che disarmate." —Berlan.

arrived in Venice, and his illness so sorely increased that he died thereof and was buried at St. Elena; and he would not that any honour should be rendered him."[1] Others, again, declare that the want of subsidies which had been promised him, and which were never supplied, weighed so on his mind as to cause his death; while some ascribe his death to the grief he experienced at a check given to the Venetian fleet by Gonzaga. On the other hand, some writers say there can be no doubt as to the cause of death; the violent pains of the stomach just after food, the continued faintings, and finally his death in agonies and spasms, point too clearly to poison. If this indeed be so, there can be no question, we think, in looking upon Filippo Visconti as the instigator of such a deed, and not Foscari. No evidence is forthcoming in the documents of the time relating to this imputation against the Doge, and had such a charge ever been made, it would never have been glossed over by the Council of Ten. Even Daru, who writes in no friendly spirit to the Doge, speaks of Loredano's death as resulting from natural causes, and makes no allusion whatever to the rumour of poison.

The suspicions against Foscari were confirmed in the public mind by the death of Marco Loredano, which followed shortly after. Marco had been sent by the Council of Ten to inquire into the administration of affairs at Legnago, from where complaints had been made to the Council of the governor, Andrea Donato, the Doge's son-in-law. Marco found things in such disorder, and so much worse than had been reported, that he decided to arrest Donato and send him under a strong escort to Venice. While preparing to return himself to assist at the trial, Marco was seized with sudden illness and died. This event occasioned much talk and murmuring, and hints were freely circulated as to the Doge having caused Marco to be put

[1] Dolfin MS., Marciana, *cit. sop.*

to death so as to screen his son-in-law. From every point of view such an accusation seems groundless. In the first place, Foscari's character was of too high and noble a nature for such deeds; and, again, had there been any probability of such a thing, it is not likely that the powerful house of Loredano would have forborne to institute a trial to inquire into the matter, supported as they were by the numerous enemies that the Doge had in Venice. All these accusations have served, however, to form a foundation for the story which has come down to us how Jacopo Loredano, Pietro's son, looked upon the Doge as guilty of the deaths of his father and uncle. Like other nobles and patricians of that day, he was engaged in commercial transactions,[1] and it is said that on the debit page of his account-book he wrote Foscari's name, leaving a blank opposite, where, after his vengeance had been executed, he made the terrible entry, "He has paid it" (L'ha pagato). Some authority, we imagine, must exist for this story, which has become such a well-known tradition in the matter between the Foscari and Loredano, but no documents are extant to prove it, and if it be really authentic we cannot but wonder why Jacopo Loredano should have allowed an interval of seven years (1450-1457) to elapse without making any sign of his intended vengeance upon the Doge.

Having pointed to the causes which led to the discord between these two families, we will now return to the history of Foscari's dethronement. Since the end of June the Council of Ten had been occupied over matters relating to the Doge. What was the nature of these debates and to what results they led has not transpired, and the oath of secrecy and silence

[1] Dean Church, speaking of the Venetian aristocracy, points out how, with all their pride and intelligence and greatness, they were at the same time "so practical, and combined the enterprise and wealth of merchants" together with their other occupations."—Essay on Dante, R. W. Church.

imposed on the transaction has been too scrupulously observed for any ray of light concerning it to have pierced through to us. In October, though, the discussion must have become more serious, since a "Giunta" of twenty-five patricians was added to the Council, "of the first in the land,"[1] on whom the seal of secrecy was again imposed. This "Giunta" was demanded by Loredano himself, which is surely a proof that his desire for Foscari's deposition was actuated more by justice than by private vengeance, for had he meant to carry the decree in the teeth of all opposition, he could more easily have done so with the original number of ten in the Council than with the addition of twenty-five nobles, among whom several supporters of the Doge were doubtless to be found.

The heads of the Ten at that moment were Jacopo Loredano, Girolamo Donato, and Girolamo Barbarigo, and under their presidency the following "parte,"[2] or act of deposition—for such it was in this case—was drawn up and passed on October 21st. Its tenour was as follows: "There is no one who does not understand how necessary the presence of the Prince is in affairs of state, failing which (as results clearly show) great harm and inconvenience arises." It then dwells on their responsibility in having had so fine a heritage bequeathed to them by the wisdom and excellence of their ancestors, together with God's mercy in giving it them, as well as the need of preserving it intact and in honour. "The presence of the Prince in council, at audiences, and for administration of questions relating to the government and to the state, and the maintenance of order and dignity, are all things too well known to enlarge upon. Now, as it is evident to all our illustrious Prince

[1] "De' primi della terra."—Sanudo.

[2] A "parte" was a resolution or part taken by the Council of Ten, expressive of their judgment or sentence on all questions brought before them.

has refrained for a long time from governing, has become aged, not to say decrepit, so that he is unable to reign, nor can it be reasonably expected that he should again exercise his powers. How injurious this condition of affairs is, how much harm it brings upon the state, is better understood than explained. For which cause, authorized by this most excellent Council and the 'Giunta,' the Councillors of the Doge and the heads of this Council are to present themselves to the most illustrious Prince, and explain to him how, without his presence and co-operation in matters concerning the realm, they can neither administer or rule properly. Considering the length of time that his Excellency has been unable to attend to business, and seeing no prospect of remedy on this point;[1] considering also the gravity of affairs, which may daily increase, all of which his Excellency in his great wisdom must most surely understand, they call upon him for the good of their state, which is also his country, freely and spontaneously to resign. This he should do for many reasons, both as a good prince and a real father to his country; all the more when he considers that enough has been provided for him to live upon honourably and in comfort. His allowance should be a yearly sum of 1,500 gold ducats (others say 2,000) from the revenue of salt, which should be paid monthly during his life, and that besides this some increase should be made to his salary, and from this moment all his bills should be paid in the course of six months. His Highness's answer shall be brought to the Council, who would await its coming, so as to arrange what would be best and most useful if

[1] This is repeated as a most important point, for in the "Promissione Ducale," to which Foscari had sworn on his election as Doge, there was a clause which stated how for any momentary or temporary obstacle or impediment the Doge might appoint a Vice-Doge to represent him, but no allusion had ever been made to a permanent abandonment of his office.—c. 55.

need be without delay, and should he require time to consider it they would graciously allow him till the third hour of the following day."

This declaration is entirely void of any argument of real weight, and in spite of constant allusions to the drawbacks involved in the Doge's absence from the Council, no valid excuse for dethroning him is quoted, for the simple reason that not one is forthcoming. Against the assertions they make as to his non-appearance in Council, might he not have urged that on the three important debates when his son appeared before their tribunal, he the Doge had not only not been present, but they had ordered and insisted on his absence? The manner in which the affair was transacted was offensive, and especially the wording as to his pension, which was put in a way that suggested the Doge's chief reason for remaining in office as being for the sake of his salary. Another offence to the old man was the limited space of time they gave him in which to reply, for his definite answer was to be given next morning, so as to make it impossible for him to summon the Great Council, to whom alone belonged the right of releasing him from the dukedom; for should the six councillors of the Doge and the majority of the Great Council demand the abdication of a Doge, then he had no choice but to obey, and it was this usurpation of a power beyond their jurisdiction which was so great an injustice on the part of the Council of Ten, and made their behaviour towards Foscari such an outrage to all sense of fair play and uprightness.

The discussion as to what might almost be called an interregnum, or the interval between Foscari's deposition and death, and the reign during that time of his successor, caused such debate and division in the Council that during eight days the question was discussed, and often, too, into the small hours of the morning, "to the admiration of the whole earth," says

Giorgio Dolfin.[1] To prevent all idea as to the real object of the Council getting abroad, the Doge's brother, Marco Foscari, was called in as one of the "Giunta," only instead of assisting at the debate he was confined in an adjoining room, and under the most solemn oaths was bound not to let it be known how he was banished from all share in the proceedings. It may be remembered that no member of the ducal family was allowed to be present when affairs relating to themselves were under discussion, and the fact being known how Marco Foscari was one of the "Giunta" would serve to blind the public as to anything relating to the Doge being under debate.

The accounts of how the Doge received the communication made him by the Council differ in many respects. One account[2] says that Jacopo Loredano was appointed to announce the resolution of the Council to Foscario, since he was a man of "great eloquence and spoke with ease. He accordingly went to the Doge, and having entered his room, he apprised him of the decree of the Fathers, alleging the reason of his great age, for which cause the Fathers had thought fit to take from him his authority, for all of which Loredano begged him, the Doge, to pardon him for what he had to do." If this were indeed the case, it is hardly consistent with the vengeance vowed by Loredano, and with the reputed story of "L'ha pagato."[3] The same account goes on to say that Loredano implored him to yield with a good grace and willingly to the will of the Fathers, since, having been thirty-four years in the princedom, in which he had endured such trials both of mind and body, it was but

[1] When relating this debate he says that for eight days the members were occupied "a disputar e ventillar questa materia difficillima pro e contra fino alle 4, 5, e 8 ore di notte, alle volte fino alla mattina con admirazion di tutta la terra."

[2] Pietro Giustinian.

[3] Up to this point Romanin also quotes Giustinian.

right he should now rest, and as one who had passed through a great tempest he should enjoy some quiet, while a lasting remembrance would be had of his high merits and lofty virtues. Whereupon Foscari, who was possessed of an indomitable mind, without in any way being moved or perturbed, turned to Loredano with a cheerful face and said: "If I had thought that in the few years of my old age such a thing would have befallen me as to be deprived of this dignity, without being allowed to plead my cause, and for no fault of mine, of my own accord I would verily have laid it aside. I am, however, prepared to obey the decree of this august magistracy, since such is their pleasure, and to pass this short term of life which remains to me in retirement, although I have governed this realm so long, and (may I be pardoned for saying it) so auspiciously."

Other writers, however, point out that Foscari was at first most unwilling to consent to the sentence passed on him, and that he would say neither "Yes" or "No," but only declared he would maintain his own liberty.[1] When the Council learned that their desire, though intimated to the Doge, had succeeded in gaining no definite answer from him, the heads of the Ten suggested they should go in person to the Doge and bring back his answer to the expectant Council. This second deputation was equally unsuccessful. The Doge, they said, declined to answer, and it was easy to see how he wished to prolong the business and remain in office. According to Dolfin, Foscari declared that he had sworn when he was made Doge to remain in that position, an oath which he neither would nor could disregard, but would ever obey, unless another edict be submitted to the Great Council, and approved by them, in which case he would yield. But since it had pleased the Republic of Venice

[1] "Non volersi decidere nè al si nè al no, ma intendeva conservare la propria libertà."—Misti xv., p. 153.

to choose him as her Doge and Prince for his life, he would as long as God preserved him, remain, live, and die in the dukedom, it being beyond the control of the Council of Ten, he asserted, to order such things, which belonged to the Great Council alone. The Augustini Cronaca adds how he also remarked that he could not admire the way in which the Council had acted throughout in the proceedings, since his toils and labours on behalf of the Republic for thirty-four years hardly deserved such a return; that it was not the case to say the country had suffered, for it was well known to all that, though he did not attend the debates in Council or the meetings of the College, his attention was given every day to affairs of state, and that he still exercised his prerogative in such a way as to prevent all disorders from arising in the government.[1] That Foscari should appeal to the Great Council was a step by no means pleasing to the Council of Ten and their Giunta, and they resolved at once to adopt more decisive measures. A deputation was accordingly sent next day, consisting of the heads, and the councillors of the Doge, and instead of consulting his pleasure they were to insist on his abdication. He was to be absolved from his oath, and in eight days[2] depart from the palace; his pension would be assured him, and his debts paid. Should he refuse to submit to the decrees of the Council, his goods were to be confiscated, and he would be considered merely as a private citizen. A still harsher edict was passed, according to Augustini, who says that besides all this he was to be banished from all Venetian territory, whether on land or sea, and a price set on his head should he escape from his exile.

[1] "Non restava esso di voler ogni giorno intendere e sapere tutto quello si faceva, e quando bisognava ricordare permissione lui le ricordava, sicchè non seguiva disordine alcuno."

[2] Dolfin and Sanudo say three days; Romanin and Berlan say eight.

Foscari had to submit. And we can imagine something of what was involved in that submission when we remember how but a few years previously the Doge's voice had been omnipotent in Venice and in the councils of state; when we reflect that it was his eloquence and authority that had overruled all opposition in the Senate, and turned the scale when the appointment of Carmagnola as captain-general wavered in the balance, and how his will and influence by this act had embroiled Venice in years of strife and warfare; when we remember all this, and then see him bowing to a decree such as that passed on him by the Council of Ten, we realize how completely his spirit was crushed and his energy quenched by all he had undergone, and by the fate that had proved too strong even for his iron will to resist. He was worn with grief and bowed with age and infirmities, and could no longer oppose the storm against which he had battled so bravely, and which was now to overwhelm him in the irresistible fury of mingled power and prejudice.

The accounts as to how this final sentence was conveyed to the Doge differ on several points. Some say that it was evening when this conclusion was arrived at, and a plea was brought forward that for that night at least the Doge should be left in peace, and in ignorance as to his fate. But this was overruled, and it was settled to grant no delay in informing Foscari of his deposition. It was evening when the heads of the Ten went to the Doge's private apartment, and knocking at the door requested to see him. It was eight o'clock at night, and the Doge, who was in extreme old age, was asleep;[1] they insisted, however, that he should be awakened to hear from their lips the sentence of dethronement.[2] The larger number of

[1] "Benchè fosse 8 ore di notte e che il Doge dormisse e fosse nell' estrema vecchiezza."—Aug. Cro.

[2] Berlan gives this description taken from the Cronaca Augustini.

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DOORWAY OF LAND ENTRANCE TO CÀ FOSCARI.

historians[1] make no allusion as to the news having been conveyed in this way to Foscari, but relate that on hearing the judgment he submitted to it, declaring that he would set himself to obey ("deliberava d' obedir").[2] The decision of the Council was then read to him by Francesco della Siega, the High Chancellor, and when it was finished the Doge remarked: "A foreseen misfortune gives much less pain" (Piaga antiveduta assai men duole).[3] And then he added, that having striven from the moment when he was made Doge to keep and enlarge the state, and above all to preserve peace in the country, and goodwill and harmony among men, he would not alter his tactics now and throw the city into confusion, and be the cause of disturbance, but would obey cheerfully, and leave the judgment of the sentence passed upon him in the hands of God; and he was ready to abide by what was settled. To prove his willingness and obedience he drew the ducal ring off his finger, which was consigned to Barbarigo, who caused it to be broken in his presence;[4] the ducal bonnet was also handed over to the councillors, and the horn of the cap and the gold fringe which surrounded it were taken off it, in sign of renunciation of all regal power, and Foscari promised to leave the palace in two days and go to his own house at San Pantaleone.

[1] Sanudo, Cronaca Dolfin, Romanin, Giustinian. Romanin says the story of awakening the Doge is altogether improbable.

[2] Cronaca Dolfin.

[3] Perhaps the words of Dante were in his mind, "Chè saetta previsa vien più lenta."—Paradiso xvi., 27. ("Because foreseen an arrow comes more slowly."—Longfellow's translation.)

[4] On the death of a Doge his ring was broken: "Annulus Domini Ducis cum S. Marci Imagine que ipsi Duci vexillum tradit et litteris circum *Voluntas Ducis*, subito confringitur." See Bolle dei Dogi di Venezia, sec. xii.-xviii. Venezia, 1888, Cecchetti, where we also read that on the death of Doge Alvise I. Mocenigo, in June, 1577, the fragments of his broken ring were given to his relations.

This was on the 21st of October, and the next day it was to be proclaimed that the Doge, feeling himself incompetent, by reason of his great age, to remain in office, had renounced the dukedom; and the Great Council was to be summoned to elect his successor.

A touching incident is told of how, when the heads of the Ten and the others were leaving the Doge's room, he observed Jacopo Memmo, who was head of the Forty, watching him with an attentive air. Foscari called him to him, and touching his hand,[1] asked him whose son he was. He answered, "I am the son of Messer Marin Memmo." "He is my dear friend," said the Doge; "tell him from me that it would be pleasing to me if he would come and see me, so that we might go at our leisure in our boats to visit the monasteries."

And thus it seemed was to pass away the life of one who had stood in the position of chief of the first republic in Christendom, and who for thirty-four years had been Doge of Venice; he was to be content in peace and quiet to glide over tranquil waters—a strange contrast to the troubled ones through which his life had passed—to visit with an old friend those resorts where men had sought a refuge or an excuse to escape from the duties and occupations of an existence which had proved too hard or too exacting for their mortal natures. Venice, too, had no longer need of Francesco Foscari; his toils, his labours, his sufferings were to meet with no consideration, no forbearance, no compensation at her hands. He had ceased to work for her, and Venice was a mistress who claimed from her servitors a zeal and a devotion that might never flag. Any hint of coldness or apathy in her service met with instant dismissal. Foscari had

[1] In olden times the fashion of shaking hands did not exist; its equivalent was a passing movement of one hand being touched against the other.

grown not only old but worn out in her employ. He was now worthless in her sight, and as such was condemned.

The suspicions of the councillors had been aroused by the conversation between Foscari and Memmo, and the latter had to declare every word that had passed between himself and the Doge to satisfy them that no design was being perpetrated against the decree of the Council.

On Monday, the 24th October, the Great Council met to elect the new Doge. While these discussions were going on, Foscari was occupied in preparing his own house, so as to vacate the Ducal Palace with all haste. His palace was altogether unprepared for habitation, there being neither glass in the windows nor beds in the house, and when these necessaries had been supplied, and all was ready for him, on the 27th of October,[1] Foscari left the Ducal Palace for ever. He was accompanied by his brother Marco, and by many of his friends and relations. The Doge was leaning on his staff, when Marco, who was by his side, suggested to him to avoid the usual way and go by a more retired staircase to where his gondola awaited him. "Most serene Prince," said his brother, "it were well we should go to our boat by the other staircase under the covered way." To which the Doge replied: "I will not go by the lower staircase, but by that one by which I ascended to take the dukedom." After which, crossing the courtyard, he went out by the door leading to the prisons, and entered his boat by the Ponte di Paglia.

And thus, says Romanin,[2] the old Doge, at the age of eighty-four, after enduring so much both of joy and sorrow, laid aside the authority that for thirty-four years he had borne with such

[1] The dates given for Foscari's departure from the Ducal Palace differ considerably; some writers giving it as the 23rd of October, others, again, the 29th. I have chosen the 27th, the date named in the Dolfin Chronicle, it being for several reasons the most probable.

[2] Romanin, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., lib. x., cap. x.

splendour, and, accompanied only by his relations, descended in silence those very stairs by which he had so often entered the palace, courted, honoured, surrounded with such glory, and rejoicing in the most brilliant prospects, around which had arisen instead the bitterest sorrows of private life and the undeserved shattering of his public career. An old chronicle[1] tells us how he was dressed in a scarlet mantle, from which the fur lining had been taken; over his shoulders was a scarlet hood, which same hood he had desired his wife when he was made Doge to preserve for him, and by his desire had always been kept;[2] on his head he wore the scarlet ducal cap, from off which the horn had been cut and the gold fringe removed; in his hand he held his staff, as he walked very slowly. He was accompanied by Messer Marco, his brother, who was by his side; behind him came his cousin, his grandson, and an infinity of his relations, and in this way he went to his own house.

Arrived at the lowest step of the stairs he said: "The malice of others has driven me from the height to which my own merits had raised me." On his departure from the palace all the city had assembled to see him, and everyone was amazed and full of the injustice and wrong that had been done him, and the wonder was the people did not rise in rebellion, considering the indignation and wrath that were openly and on all sides declared. Messer the Doge went on his way with a cheerful face, and greeting everyone with the greatest kindness he went to his house. This chronicle then goes on to say how a large number of gentlemen went to visit Foscari at his house, and how he talked with them of his past reign and actions, and com-

[1] Cronaca Augustini, Cod. I., cl. vii.

[2] "Ed in ispalla un cappuccio di scarlatto, il quale cappuccio, quando egli fu fatto doge, ordinò a sua mogliera che salvasse, e fecelo sempre salvare."

plained, but modestly ("e modestamente si lagnava"), of the wrong that had been done him.

The Council of Ten had enjoined the usual silence as to their doings in regard of Foscari that they always imposed on their actions, but, in spite of their precautions, the facts as to how his deposition had been compassed had spread, and caused universal discontent. Since the foundation of Venice such a deed had never been perpetrated, and murmurings were to be heard from the very stones of which the city was founded ("mormorando fino le piere delle fondamente di Venesia").[1] General disapprobation, too, was expressed at Foscari having been compelled to break his oath, since having sworn to remain as Doge till his death, he should not have been deposed from that position, all the more as at his age he could not have long to live. There was also much indignation at the way in which the Council of Ten had acted, and in which they had usurped powers beyond their authority; and, indeed, so loud was the voice of general discontent, the Council deemed it prudent to silence the clamour they had themselves aroused, together with the murmurings that were becoming universal. They began by expressing their approbation of all those members who had assisted at the deliberations, after which they imposed a strict charge of silence on them, and further issued a command forbidding all freedom of speech on the matter in public. These measures proved so effectual that the first outburst of indignation was hardly spent ere the whole affair lay wrapped in all the gloom and secrecy that in so many cases veiled the doings of this famous tribunal.

It was on Sunday morning, October 23rd, 1457, that Foscari had been compelled to abdicate, and on the following day the Great Council was summoned to elect his successor, for though the Ten had seen fit to act on their own responsibility in

[1] Cronaca Dolfin, *op. cit.*

regard of deposing the Doge, they dared not assume to themselves the power of appointing a new one. The Great Council met on the 24th October, and sat with locked doors till Sunday, the 30th, when the unanimous verdict was arrived at, and Pasquale Malipiero was declared Doge in the room of Foscari, and assumed office the same day. The importance given to the injunctions bidding him attend in person at the meetings and debates of the Councils, and in passing prompt and impartial judgment, is marked, and would seem to point to disorders and irregularities having crept into the administration during the last few years.

Two days after the election of the new Doge, on All Saints' Day, November 1st, 1457, at the first hour of the day, Francesco Foscari died. The story that the sound of the bell which announced his successor's appointment broke his heart, and was the cause of his death, has been proved to be untrue. The new Doge had been elected and proclaimed on the 30th of October, two hours before midnight, and there is no authority to prove that for two whole days the news was kept secret; nor can we suppose that such an interval would have elapsed without some public rejoicings taking place, or some open announcement of the new ruler's accession.

The Dolfin cronicle gives a quaint account of Foscari's end, and tells us that "Messer Pasqual Malipiero having assumed the dukedom, it was displeasing to God and to the patron St. Mark to allow such confusion in Venice as that there should be two living heads. And in the same way in which it was not convenient for a mortal body to possess two heads, so equally was it not convenient that there should be two Doges in Venice." The same chronicle goes on to relate that Foscari had gone to his own house at S. Pantaleone, "where he was like the fruit which when ripe falls from the tree at the least

movement;" and that while the bells of San Marco were still ringing for the appointment of his successor, Foscari died from the rupture of an internal vein, which burst and caused his death. Another account says he was already suffering from cancer of the tongue, which had spread downwards to his lungs, and that he was choked by this, and so died. From whatever reason it was, the fact of his death is certain as occurring on the 1st of November, when "this most holy soul passed from this life and flew to heaven, leaving his body and the miseries of this world;"[1] and "he left the highest renown for justice, and for good works, and great praise from all his family."[2] And to quote still more from this last-named chronicle, we read that "indeed more than any other name he deserved that of saint from all he had undergone in regard of his son, his son-in-law, and other causes, together with all the vicissitudes of fortune, while the constancy with which he endured them all was such as to make him a second Job. On the same day, the new Doge being in San Marco to hear mass, Messer Donato, son-in-law of the late Doge, came to announce the fact of Foscari's death. On hearing the news all looked at one another, saying that after all they might have delayed ten days. To all it seemed a miracle that he should have died so soon, and great displeasure was felt in consequence of the treatment he had received, and at the death of such a prince, whose like has never been seen on this earth, nor ever will again."

A decree was at once passed that a public funeral should be accorded to Foscari, with all the pomp and solemnity belonging to his former state, and the bells of St. Mark were ordered to

[1] "Quella santissima anima volò al cielo, e lassò il corpo e le miserie di questo mondo."—Codice Augustini.

[2] "Lassato ottima fama di giustizia e buone opere, con grande laude de la sua famiglia."—Codice Dolfin.

peal nine times, as was customary at the death of any Doge. The same Council also determined that on Thursday night, November 3rd, the corpse should be carried into the room of the "Signori di notte," dressed in a golden mantle, with the ducal bonnet on his head, golden spurs on his feet, the gold sword by his side, and nothing was to be wanting to the full insignia of state. But against such a decree Foscari's wife, Marina or Maria Nani, opposed herself with all the energy and high-mindedness of a noble woman. Such honours were a poor apology for the injustice done to her husband, and for the wrongs he had endured. She declined to give up the body, which she had caused to be dressed in plain and simple clothes as though he were only a poor man, and she maintained that no one but herself should provide for the funeral expenses, even should she have to give up her dower to defray the costs. Her resolution was so firm, and she was so determined in her purpose, she seemed about to gain her point, but she had to contend with a Council equally determined as herself, and possessed besides of greater power. The Council of Ten sent one of their heads to her with a message, that should she decline to surrender her husband's body with a good grace and willingly, it should be taken from her by force.

And thus to the very end there was to be strife and contention, and the troubles and disputes which had lasted through Foscari's life bade fair to be continued even after his death. The luckless Maria Foscari, who had had to weep over the exile and death of her only son, and who with her husband had been compelled to lay aside the rank and position of the highest in the land, had now to mourn that husband's death, while she was forced at the same time to forego all those last sad duties so precious to render to the dead, and to give up her husband's body to

BUST OF DOGE FOSCARI,
From the mask taken of him after death.
(*Original in the Ducal Palace.*)

authorities and rulers who had generally proved themselves his enemies.

The corpse was taken to the Ducal Palace, accompanied by the Doge Malipiero, plainly dressed as a senator, together with the Signory, the hired mourners, or, as they are called, "weepers, lachrymosi," the clergy, priests, and brothers of every order, and, arrived at the Palace, the members of the four principal schools, those of S. Marco, San Rocco, S. Giovanni Evangelista and Sta. Maria del Carmine, stood in the Sala of the Pioveghi, where the body was laid, "singing mournful chants."[1] Round the bier stood twenty gentlemen dressed in scarlet as representatives of the state, and who followed the corpse to its last resting-place. The body was raised by the members of the School of S. Marco, and carried by the principal sailors of Venice under a panoply of cloth of gold, with much pomp, and an immense quantity of wax candles and of torches, through the Merceria to the Church of the Frari. Patricians, and a large number of people, followed, all dressed in mourning, and never before or since had such a thing been seen or known in Venice, as that one Doge should accompany the body of his predecessor to the grave. A solemn funeral service was held, after which the body was laid to rest behind the high altar of the Frari Church, and a monument of great size and cost erected to him. The tomb is the work of Pietro and Antonio Rizzi, and is the first important example, says Ruskin, of Renaissance art.[2] The funeral oration over Foscari was pronounced by Bernardo Giustinian, and in it the orator dwelt upon the fact of how reluctant the Doge had been in embarking upon the war against Filippo Visconti.

[1] "Et in sala cantado solenne matutino."

[2] See, too, his account of Foscari's tomb.—Stones of Venice, vol. ii., Traveller's Edition, chap. iii., The Street of the Tombs.

CONCLUSION.

1457.

HE history of Foscari's dukedom should be such as to prove itself either a justification or a condemnation of Mocenigo's dying speech; but how far Foscari himself was responsible for all the war and misery that ensued in his reign, is a question that perhaps has not always been fairly considered. We have seen how soon after his accession Venice was plunged for years into war on the mainland, but in justification to the Doge we must remember how unwillingly he engaged in that war, and how again and again he refused to listen to the overtures of the Florentines, or to aid them in their strife against the Duke of Milan, and when finally he consented to join forces with them, we ask ourselves whether any other policy was open to him? The age was a stormy one, and war was the all-absorbing topic and occupation for great and small alike. That Foscari shared the spirit of the age to a lamentable extent, that he was most ambitious and warlike, may be cause for regret more perhaps than for blame. That he did not rise superior to his times, and live in advance of his age, are facts that must ever be deplored as having hastened

the decline and ruin of Venice, and it is on this ground that we must withhold our full admiration from him, and refuse to acknowledge him as a truly great man. He was unable to see in what his country's real good lay, or to act solely for her permanent welfare. It is said that he aimed at nothing less than the conquest of Lombardy, and though he certainly added to Venice's possessions by land, it was done at the expense of her power by sea, and left her weak and defenceless, with a drained exchequer and exhausted supplies, at a moment when she stood in need of more than her ordinary strength to furnish contingents of men and galleys to drive the Turk from Constantinople, and to fulfil the mission ascribed to her to "hold the gorgeous East in fee, and be the safeguard of the West."[1] Instead of this her new interests and possessions on the mainland were of a nature to fetter her actions, and render her policy complicated, and even at times mean and selfish; added to which she became embroiled in turn with the Pope, the Patriarch of Aquileja, the Emperor, and with the princes of Italy, and wasted her energies in wars and struggles with powers and states who should have been her allies instead of her foes.

We must not, however, withhold our sense of admiration from Foscari when we consider how much he did for the adornment and embellishment of his native town, and his liberal patronage of art. Before speaking of this we will glance for a moment at his own palace and give a slight sketch of its history. This palace, which stands on the Rivo of San Pantaleone at the corner of a small canal and the Grand Canal, presents a very different aspect now to that of bygone days. At the beginning of the 15th century it was crowned with two towers, and was probably ornamented as well with those Arabic

[1] Wordsworth, Sonnet on Venice.

turrets, such as are still to be seen on the Ducal Palace, the Cadoro, etc.[1] It belonged originally to the Giustinian family, and was bought from them in 1429 by the Signory, who presented it to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, as a reward for the services he had rendered the Republic, when, after the death of Carmagnola, he was appointed general of their forces. When, in 1438, he relinquished this command, and passed over to the service of the Duke of Milan, his palace came again into the possession of the state. Not for long, however, as in the following year, 1439, Francesco Sforza, who had succeeded the Marquis in the command of the Venetian forces, had led those forces to victory, and recaptured for the Republic the town of Verona. Venice showed her gratitude by presenting Sforza with his predecessor's house, called by Sanudo "the house with the two towers, situate at San Pantaleone."[2]

It was to this palace Sforza came, when, in 1441, he was staying in Venice to assist at the wedding of Jacopo Foscari, and we find him again residing here later in the same year, when he came in the capacity of mediator between Milan and Venice. In the following year he came with his bride, Bianca Visconti, to his Venetian home; but this was his last visit there, for in 1447 it was discovered that he made use of his palace for treasonable practices against the government, and so the Council of Ten ordered the palace to be closed, and the Count's goods confiscated. The house was put up to

[1] These turretted galleries had no reference, as has been sometimes supposed, to defence or fortification, but were merely a style of ornamentation that intercourse and contact with the Arabians had made familiar to the Venetians.

[2] "Il 29 Novembre, 1439, fu preso di donare al conte Francesco la casa che fu del Marchese di Mantova, dalle due torri, posta a San Pantaleone." —Sanudo, Vita dei Duchi di Venezia.

public sale, and bought by the Doge Francesco Foscari, whose family house till then had been at S. Simone Profeta. The actual date when this transaction took place is not known, but it must have been before 1449, when peace was signed between Sforza and the Venetian Republic.

Among other charges of ambition laid at Foscari's door is that of having raised a third storey to his house, so as to heighten it above the Giustinian palaces which stand beside it, and to make it appear not to have been one of them. But any observer will see this could not have been the case, for the level of the windows is different in the palaces, and a little careful observation will show certain points which prove a difference of style from the adjoining houses, and which have led authorities on such matters (such as Cicognara and Selvatico) to ascribe the alteration of this palace to be the work of Bartolommeo I. Buono,[1] who had been employed by Foscari from 1438 to 1443 in erecting the Porta della Carta. It was under his supervision that the towers were removed, and that the exterior of the palace assumed the aspect now familiar to us.

Most of the family misfortunes and sorrows which befell the Doge were not passed in this palace, for at the time when he bought it his son Jacopo had been an exile for about three years, and he certainly can never have lived there a single day. But the closing scene of Foscari's own life was passed in it, since it was here that he retired when compelled to abdicate, and where his death took place on the 1st of November, 1457.

Foscari was not content with adorning his own palace only,

[1] It was he who also carved the image of Doge Foscari kneeling before the lion of St. Mark above the Porta della Carta, a work which has been beautifully restored in our day by Ferrari. The original head of Foscari, executed by Buono, which served as a model for the likeness of the Doge, is now kept in the Museo Archeologico of the Ducal Palace.

but he also did much for the embellishment of the city of Venice. Laugier, speaking of him, says he possessed but one passion, that of glory;[1] but without arrogating too much we think we may claim for him that of art as well. During his dukedom that side of the Ducal Palace was built which extends from where the figure of Venice stands to the Porta della Carta; and, as we have already said, this beautiful doorway itself leading into the courtyard of the palace was built under his patronage. The walls of the palace also were then faced with the slabs of red and white marble which we see to this day; the Sala di Maggior Consiglio was finished and inaugurated, and besides these works we read of new streets made, old ones widened and repaired, and much done in other ways for the improvement of the town.

Among other critics and opinions on Foscari, that of the Gradenigo Codice[2] must be also given. Speaking of him as a ruler, it says that in a moment of great wars and difficulties he governed with vigour and firmness; and, too, that he overcame great obstacles, while among his other fine qualities might be ranked that of never letting anyone leave his presence discontented or unsatisfied. The same chronicler adds that, had he not at times given way to violent fits of rage and anger, he would perhaps have left a happier memory. And he also speaks of Foscari's "natural eloquence," and of "his most beautiful and harmonious voice." So with these gifts of nature we cannot wonder how again and again he carried his hearers with him, or that his opinion ruled that of the rest of the Senate, when, beside the power of eloquence, he combined too the all-persuasive charm of a beautiful voice.

[1] "Il n'eut jamais qu'une passion, l'amour de la gloire."—Histoire de Venise, Laugier, tom. vii., lib. xxv.

[2] Cod. Gradenigo, Cl. cxcix., vol. "Doge."—Raccolta Correr.

The taking of Constantinople, and the inroads made by the Turks into different parts of the Greek Empire, drove a number of wanderers away from their homes, and as among these were many collectors and preservers of letters, manuscripts, and such like stores, who sought and found a home in Venice, the city was enriched by the treasures which in this way were sheltered within her walls. The best copyists were also to be met with here, an art of inestimable worth in those days, as that of printing was still in its infancy, and did not exist in Venice till the dukedom of Cristoforo Moro.[1] The greatest amount of learning and erudition to be found in those days was amongst the Venetian patricians, who devoted themselves to study and literature, and whose libraries and collections of manuscripts and letters were such as no other private families or houses could boast of. The collecting of Greek manuscripts, codices, and other rare and precious documents was a taste possessed and indulged in by many of the nobles of Venice, and one in which the young nobles partook as well, as we have seen in the case of Jacopo Foscari, who was accused of accepting among other gifts that of some Greek manuscripts.

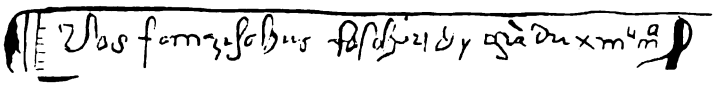
In Foscari's dukedom several new laws were passed, both civil and commercial, and many old ones altered and improved in regard of fires, sanitary regulations, and other matters that related generally to the public safety and welfare.

On the other hand, the constant wars in which the Republic was plunged brought the state of her trade and commerce to a very low ebb, while the exhausted state of the exchequer involved fresh loans and taxes, with an increased rate of imposts. The failure, too, of some of the largest banks in the town, and the

[1] Romanin says it is certain that Venice had printing presses in 1469, when the Senate accorded honourable privileges for five years to "Giovanni da Spira" to publish Cicero's Familiar Letters and Pliny's Natural History.

heavy expenses of her wars, affected the industry and welfare of Venice to such an extent that even the magnificence of her buildings, and her triumphs and conquests by land and sea, cannot be said to atone for the misery and distress that followed on the reign of Francesco Foscari.

COINS ISSUED IN FOSCARI'S REIGN.



AUTOGRAPH OF THE DOGE.

EPITOME OF DATES AND EVENTS OF DOGE TOMASO MOCENIGO'S REIGN.

1414. Election and installation of Tomaso Mocenigo as Doge of Venice. Opening of the Council of Constance.

1415. Gregory XII. renounces his claims to the Papacy. Scheme in Venice for poisoning the Emperor Sigismund. Territory of Roveredo acquired by the Republic.

1416. Naval battle against the Turks on the 29th of May at Gallipoli. Victory of the Venetians under Pietro Loredano. Cardinal Bessarion presents his collection of MSS. codices, etc., to the Library of St. Mark.

1417. Schisms in the Church allayed by the election of Martin V. to the Papacy.

1418. War in Friuli between Venice and the Emperor Sigismund. Visit of the Bishop of Winchester, uncle of Henry V., to Venice. Death of Carlo Zeno.

1419. Conquest of Friuli by Venice. Death of the Venetian general, Filippo di Arcelli.

1420. Great conquests in Dalmatia and Albania. Corinth gained by the Republic.

1421. Milan conquers the town of Genoa.

1422. Treaty between Milan and Venice. Doge Mocenigo proposes to the Senate the rebuilding of part of the Ducal Palace, and pays the fine of 1,000 ducats laid on whoever propounded such a scheme in public.

1423. Doge Mocenigo dies on the 3rd of April.

LIST OF DATES IN DOGE FOSCARI'S LIFE.

1423. On the 4th of April Tomaso Mocenigo dies, and on the 15th of the same month Francesco Foscari is elected sixty-fifth Doge of Venice. John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, comes to Venice. Plague in Venice. The Republic gains the two towns of Salonica and Patrasso.

1424. The famous painter Giovanni Bellini born. Help is given to the Emperor of Constantinople against the Turks. The King of Dacia comes to Venice on his way to the Holy Land.

1425. Polidoro Foscari elected *Primicerio* of St. Mark. Under his rule the canons obtain from Pope Martin V. the privilege of wearing squirrel fur.

1426. War against Filippo Visconti, Duke of Milan. A council of 100 Savii elected by reason of this war. Venice allies herself with Amedeo, Duke of Savoy, and the Florentines, against Milan. Brescia falls into the hands of Venice. Carmagnola created commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces. They gain a victory at La Vignola over the Milanese.

1427. Victory of the Venetians on the Po over the Milanese. Venice gains Bergamo.

1428. Peace between Venice and Visconti. The council of 100 abolished.

1429. The Venetians at war with the Turks at Gallipoli.

1430. The Turks take Salonica (Thessalonica) from the Venetians. Attempt of Andrea Contarini against Doge Foscari's life. Condemnation and execution of the would-be assassin. Obizzò da Polenta, lord of Ravenna, dies, and leaves his son to the care and guidance of Venice, which, in case of the boy's death, is to inherit all his states.

1431. Fresh war with Milan. War, too, with the Genoese, and victory of the Venetians at Rapalla. Gabriele Condulmer, Venetian patrician, elected Pope, and takes the name of Eugenius IV.

1432. On the 5th of May, Carmagnola, captain-general of the Venetian forces, is beheaded. A conspiracy formed by some of the patricians to obtain for themselves the power of bestowing public offices. The plot discovered, and the leaders punished by being deprived of their seats in the Council. War in the Valtellina.

1433. The Emperor Sigismund passes through the states of the Republic

to attend the Council of Basle. Francesco Foscari wishes to lay aside his dignity of Doge, an offer to which the Senate do not agree. Peace with Milan. Cosimo de' Medici, exiled from Florence, finds refuge in Venice. Lorenzo Giustinian elected Bishop of Castello, being the last who bears that title.

1434. The Venetians and their allies defeated by the Milanese under Nicolò Piccinino in Romagna.

1435. The Paduans form a league to support Marsilio da Carrara, their seigneur, against the Venetians.

1436. War against the Duke of Milan. Gattamelata appointed general of the Venetians.

1437. The Emperor of Constantinople, Amurath II., his brother Alessio, and other dignitaries visit Venice.

1438. The Republic cedes the district of Polesina di Rovigo to the Marquis of Ferrara. Continued war with Milan.

1439. Nicolò Piccinino defeats the Venetians on the Lake of Garda. Francesco della Siega elected High Chancellor.

1440. The Venetians carry their war-galleys across the mountains to the Lake of Garda. Battle against Visconti. Venice gains Rocca di Riva. The Emperor Frederick comes to Venice on his way to Jerusalem.

1441. Peace between Venice and Milan. Ravenna places itself under the rule of the Republic. Great rejoicings in Venice on the occasion of Jacopo Foscari's marriage.

1442. The Albanian town of Antivari taken by the Venetians. Francesco Foscari again wishes to abdicate, and his wish is again opposed.

1443. Extraordinary rising of water.

1444. Some Venetian galleys are sent to Pope Eugenius IV., which he arms against the Turks.

1446. The Bolognese not wishing to submit to the Duke of Milan, join the league of the Venetians and Florentines.

1447. Fresh war against Milan. Plague in Venice. Death of Eugenius IV.

1449. Aldo Manuzio, the celebrated printer in Venice, born at Bassiano. War against Alfonso, King of Aragon and Naples. Zante comes under the protection of the Republic, which also gains Crema.

1450. Conspiracy of sixteen new patrician families to prevent any of the old ones from attaining to the dukedom. War against the Milanese under Sforza.

1451. Discords as to the boundary of Istria between Venice and the King of the Romans. Lorenzo Giustinian, first Patriarch of Venice; the bishopric of Castello being now merged into the patriarchate of Venice.

1452. The Emperor Frederick III. visits Venice. Pietro Foscari made *Primiceriato* of St. Mark.

1453. Constantinople taken by the Turks under Mahomet II.

1454. Peace signed between Venice and the Turks. Peace also signed between the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, and other princes. League between the Venetians, the Florentines, Sforza, and others, for the preservation of their states. Enmity between the Foscari and Loredano families.

1456. Maffeo Contarini elected as second Patriarch of Venice. Jacopo Foscari exiled to Canea. Paolo Barbo and others entreat for his pardon.

1457. Deposition of Doge Foscari, on account of old age, on the 24th of October. On the 30th of the same month, Pasquale Malipiero elected Doge. Foscari dies on the 1st of November.

ADDENDA.

I omitted to state in regard of Litta, Famiglie Celebri, that the genealogy of the Mocenigo family there given is from the able pen of Com. Federigo Stefani, head of the State Archives of Venice.

P. 16. I have made an error in regard of this Cronaca Morisini, for the original of this precious codex is in the Imperial Library at Vienna; not at Venice, where there exists only a copy made lately from the Vienna MSS. and purchased by the Marciana Library. This copy is No. mmxlviii—mmxlix., Cl. vii., degli Italiani.